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30 SEPTEMBER 1987



**FOREIGN  
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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Asia**

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***Southeast Asia***

30 SEPTEMBER 1987

EAST ASIA  
SOUTHEAST ASIA

CONTENTS

AUSTRALIA

Firm Negotiates Iron Ore Deal With USSR (Peter Terry; THE AUSTRALIAN, 1-2 Aug 87).....	1
Queensland Premier Seeks Coal Barter With Romania (Peter Terry; THE AUSTRALIAN, 3 Aug 87).....	3
Hawke ALP Faction Setback Reported (Alan Fewster, David Nason; THE AUSTRALIAN, 3 Aug 87).....	4
Hawke Reconsiders Decision Against More Spending Cuts (Geoff Kitney; TIMES ON SUNDAY, 9 Aug 87).....	6
Daily Supports Proposal for 4-Year Parliament Term (Editorial; THE AUSTRALIAN, 3 Aug 87).....	7
Vallentine Retains Senate Seat (THE AUSTRALIAN, 4 Aug 87).....	9
Columnist on Beazley Omissions, Submarine Reportage (Peter Young; THE AUSTRALIAN, 5 Aug 87).....	11

## KAMPUCHEA

### PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

Economic, Social Conditions in Pnomh Penh Viewed (Cordt Schnibben; DIE ZEIT, 15 May 87).....	14
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### PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

#### Briefs

Railroad Operations	20
Agricultural Production	20

## MALAYSIA

National Recovery Plan--Umno Youth's Answer to Unemployment Problem (Azam Aris; BUSINESS TIMES, 5 Aug 87).....	21
Reactions to National Recovery Plan (BUSINESS TIMES, 5 Aug 87).....	23
Restructuring of Civil Service Work Force To Step Up Effectiveness (NEW STRAITS TIMES, 5 Aug 87).....	26

## NEW ZEALAND

Lange Threatens To Close Ports to USSR Over Seal Killing (Mary Louise O'Callaghan; THE AGE, 4 Aug 87).....	27
---	----

## THAILAND

Columnist Criticizes U.S. Policy, Cites Philippines, ROK (Trairat; DAILY NEWS, 25 Jul 87).....	28
Business Leader Comments on Soviet Trade Issue (DAILY NEWS, 3 Jul 87).....	30
Opinion Makers Fault DK, Sihanouk, Cite PRK Favorably (Various sources, various dates).....	32
Columnist Calls CGDK 'Dreamers,' Sitthi 'Liar,' by Masuk Suankhwanpun	32
Editorial Views Khmer Rouge, CGDK Problems	33
Lack of CGDK Military Success, Bitterness at DK	34
Academic Posits Dropping 'Unacceptable KR,' by Thira Nutpian	36
Columnist Distrusts Sihanouk, Cites CGDK Weaknesses, by Ta Mo Lo	38
Cultural Exchange Sought With PRK, by Sathan Phairo	39

Daily Labels Prem Do-Nothing, Ignorant (Editorial; SIAM RAT, 6 Aug 87).....	40
Adviser to Foreign Minister Profiled (Nanthana; DAILY NEWS, 6 Jul 87).....	41
Questions Raised Over Monarchy Role After Charter Change (SU ANAKHOT, 22-28 Jul 87).....	43
Promotion of Queen, Prince to General Rank Discussed (LAK THAI, 23 Jul 87).....	44
Wira Musikaphong Describes DP Insurgent Group Origins (MATICHON SUT SAPDA, 26 Jul 87).....	46
Democrat Insurgents Comment on Policy, Party Options (KHAO PHISET, 22-28 Jul 87).....	50
1st Army Deputy Commander Profiled (Nanthana; DAILY NEWS, 13 Jul 87).....	67
Deputy Special Warfare Commander Profiled (Nanthana; DAILY NEWS, 27 Jul 87).....	69
Changes in Volunteer Army Force Structure (LAK THAI, 30 Jul 87).....	71
Opposition Moves To Form Alliances Reported (KHAO PHISET, 29 Jul-4 Aug 87).....	74
Government Dilemma Over Islamic Schools in South Viewed (Narongrut Sakdannarong; SIAM RAT, 30 Jun 87).....	78
Briefs Army on Manun Return	82

## VIETNAM

### POLITICAL

Social-Political Tendencies Among Youths Discussed (Trung Thanh; THANH NIEN, Feb 87).....	83
Hanoi Industrial Sector Moves To Implement Resolution 2 (Tho Cao; HANOI MOI, 10 Jun 87).....	88
Hanoi Official Interviewed on Electing Enterprise Director (Nguyen Dinh Lac Interview; HANOI MOI, 10 Jun 87).....	90



## ECONOMIC

Prohibited, Conditional Export Goods Listed (NGOAI THUONG, 15 May 87).....	93
Further on List of Prohibited, Conditional Import Goods (NGOAI THUONG, 25 May 87).....	95
Commodity-Currency Relationship Discussed (Le Hong Tiem; GIAO DUC LY LUAN, Apr 87).....	98
On-The-Spot Tractor Repair Services Criticized (LAO DONG, 7 May, 11 Jun 87).....	105
Responsible Department Criticized, by Tien Chuoc	105
Reply From Ministry of Agriculture, by Nguyen Van Hoi	108

## SOCIAL

Civil Rights Violations in Thot Not District Discussed (Phuong Ha; DAI DOAN KET, 15 May 87).....	109
Former Court Official Protests Unjust Treatment (LAO DONG, 25 Jun 87).....	114
Greater Personal Responsibility Demanded (Viet An; QUAN DOI NHAN DAN, 27 Jun 87).....	117
Pha Lai Plant Youth Union Answers Charges (Le Duc Chan; TIEN PHONG, 30 Jun-6 Jul 87).....	119

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FIRM NEGOTIATES IRON ORE DEAL WITH USSR

Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English 1-2 Aug 87 p 3

[Article by Peter Terry in Vienna: "Hancock Breaks New Ground With Soviet Ore Deal"]

[Text]

THE Soviet Union has begun negotiations to buy millions of dollars worth of Australian iron ore in a deal senior diplomats believe will have significant implications for East-West trade.

The negotiations have been held in secret and the Soviet negotiators have indicated they will be interested in initial purchases worth between \$200 million and \$400 million.

Diplomats here have been surprised that the Soviet Union has indicated it has no objection to its own iron ore supply contracts with Eastern Europe being fulfilled by Australia as well.

These contracts are a cornerstone of Comecon - the trading block formed by the Soviet Union and its East European satellite nations - and any loosening of those trade relations is seen by diplomats as a significant change in Moscow's attitude.

Negotiations on the deal are being conducted by mining millionaire, Mr Lang Hancock, as an extension of his \$1.5 billion barter trade with Romania.

Mr Hancock, who is leading a trade delegation to Eastern Europe, said yesterday that the Soviet deal would involve a combination of barter and cash.

"The basis which we have discussed so far is 35 per cent barter and 75 per cent cash," Mr Hancock said.

"That was the opening gambit. Now they want 50 per cent cash and 50 per cent barter."

He said initially Eastern Europe's contracts would involve 50 million tonnes of iron ore a year - about the same as the trade with Japan.

With Moscow's initial requirements added, the figure could reach 100 million tonnes.

"The Russian steel industry's requirement at the moment is 200 million tonnes a year - it's enormous," Mr Hancock said.

"You multiply that by \$40 a tonne per year and every year for the next 100 years, and you will see what is involved," he said.

Diplomatic sources in Vienna said Australia seemed to be on the verge of opening up new trading relations with Eastern Europe that would have seemed unthinkable a few years ago.

"It would seem Mr Hancock is riding the new wave of glasnost created by Mikhail Gorbachev," one source said.

"He was just in the right place at the right time."

But Australia is also seen as being in an unusually strong position to do business with Eastern Europe - even though the opportunities may not have occurred to many Australian companies.

Agreed

"One of the biggest advantages Australia has is that it is not perceived as a threat.

whereas Eastern bloc countries always feel they are somehow doing business with the enemy when they deal with Western Europe or the United States," the source said.

"Australia in these terms is seen as all but neutral, particularly because of her increasingly independent stance at the United Nations."

It is for these reasons diplomats believe the Soviet Union has decided to negotiate such an important iron ore deal with Australia.

Mr Hancock also revealed that some years ago the Soviet Union approached him to suggest they become involved in a joint mining venture in the Pilbara.

Mr Hancock said he refused the approach because such a deal at that time would have been politically unacceptable.

Mr Hancock said in the latest moves the Soviets had told him they were eager to have the new deal completed in time for their next five-year plan - due to start next year.

"Once the old five-year plan is finished, it will be a new ball game, particularly when Gorbachev's new policy gets fully understood by the Russians themselves," Mr Hancock said.

Mr Hancock said he had no idea of the sort of contracts Moscow might offer his company.

But the indication was the Soviet Union would wish Australia to take responsibility for supplying all Eastern Europe's

ore requirements, now handled by Soviet mines.

"Then, they would want an additional five to 10 million tonnes a year of iron ore for themselves," Mr Hancock said.

"That is their present thinking but they can change like the wind because the Gorbachev rearrangement business may change their thinking - I don't know."

"But all I can say is that with the Romanian canal in place and the system established with the Romanians, ultimately the Russians have got to come in to it because of their own difficulties."

The canal system, which links the Black Sea with the Danube River and ultimately the centre of Europe, has been vital to the success of the Australian iron ore export initiative.

The canal offers the potential for large quantities of ore to be moved quickly and efficiently to Eastern Europe steel mills instead of by rail from the Soviet Union.

"In my opinion, this is the biggest thing Australia has ever had," Mr Hancock said.

"It doesn't make the Japanese market pale into insignificance, but it is a beautiful balance against the Japanese."

Mr Hancock said the Soviet and East European trade would make it far more difficult for the Japanese to pressure Australian mining companies into dropping their ore prices.

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CSO: 4200/842

QUEENSLAND PREMIER SEEKS COAL BARTER WITH ROMANIA

Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English 3 Aug 87 p 3

[Article by Peter Terry in Linz, Austria]

[Text]

THE Queensland Premier, Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen, is to fly to Romania this month to try to secure yet another multi-million-dollar barter deal with Eastern Europe.

Instead of West Australian iron ore, Queensland coal will be offered for exchange this time but, as before, the resource deposits are all owned by mining tycoon Mr Lang Hancock.

Mr Hancock revealed his latest plans yesterday as pressure mounted for a full inquiry into the long-term economic consequences if Australia were to participate in significant levels of international barter.

The president of the West Australian Trades and Labour Council, Mr Tony Beech, said that while such deals offered much potential for Australia, it was essential the trade were regulated.

Mr Beech, who is travelling with Mr Hancock's iron ore trade delegation, said that on his return to Perth he would be seeking some form of federal and State government inquiry to determine the benefits and pitfalls of the enterprise.

The Australian Heavy Engineering Manufacturers Association has expressed concern already that the Romanian barter deal on ore will rob its members of business if any Romanian products brought to Australia could have been made locally.

But yesterday both Mr Hancock and Western Australia's Premier, Mr Burke - also travelling with the trade delegation - insisted

that the association was wrongly informed.

Mr Burke said only a small proportion of products bartered for iron ore would ever reach Australia. Most would be sold internationally through Mr Hancock's Hong Kong-based trading company.

Mr Burke also said that if Mr Hancock were prevented from using Australian iron ore to meet his \$1.5 billion contract with Romania, he would use ore from other countries.

"If he does not use Pilbara ore for Eastern European contracts, it will simply remain in the ground... there will be no new Australian jobs, foreign exchange, or Commonwealth and State taxation revenue," Mr Burke said.

"Mr Hancock will still benefit from the deals because he has a contract already. Australia and Western Australia will not."

Mr Hancock said Sir Joh would arrive at his company's Swiss offices on August 17, from where they would both travel to Romania for trade talks.

"Sir Joh does not let grass grow under his feet; he will be there to do business," Mr Hancock said.

Mr Hancock said that initially he hoped to sign contracts with Romania for the annual supply of 3 million tonnes of coking and steaming coal.

But, as in the barter deals he was setting up for iron ore, the potential for Australian coal was just as great.

Mr Hancock and Mr Burke will visit Hungary and Yugoslavia this week to try to secure more barter deals for iron ore.

# HAWKE ALP FACTION SETBACK REPORTED

Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English 3 Aug 87 pp 1, 2

[Article by Alan Fewster and David Nason]

[Text]

THE ALP's right-wing faction - to which the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, belongs - suffered a serious setback during the weekend when it lost two seats on the party's national executive, one each to the Left and Centre Left.

A left-wing candidate, Ms Sue Robinson, yesterday displaced the Right's Mr Terry Higgins at the annual conference of the ACT branch of the ALP, only one day after the Right's senator-elect Mr Bob Collins was defeated by the Centre Left's Mr Dennis Bree at the Northern Territory conference.

Those results mean that representation on the 28-seat national executive is again equal between the Left and Right, with each taking 11 places. The Centre Left has the remaining six. This was the status quo after last year's national conference in Hobart in July.

Before this weekend the composition had been Right 13, Left 10 and Centre Left five.

## Backfired

Mr Collins's dumping was masterminded by the Centre Left's convener, Senator Peter Cook from Western Australia, who made a special trip to Darwin to organise the numbers for his candidate, Mr Bree.

At the Darwin conference, Mr Bree beat the Left's candidate, Ms Margaret O'Sullivan,

by 55 votes to 16 after Mr Collins withdrew his nomination at the last moment. Mr Collins's move was in support of Mr Bree, in order to prevent a clean sweep of senior positions by the Left.

The trade-off was to have been an arrangement to ensure that Mr Collins won the presidency of the Northern Territory branch.

But this backfired when three Centre Left delegates, including the faction's convener and Deputy Leader of the Opposition, Mr Ede, defected to give the post to the Left's Mr Colin Dyer.

The result will anger the powerful right-wing faction, which is almost certain to remove support for the Centre Left's delegate to the national executive, Mr Michael Beehan, later this year.

Mr Collins, who has been leader of the Opposition in the Northern Territory, claimed after the elections that he had been "crucified".

He said Senator Cook had sacrificed the Northern Territory branch for federal reasons.

Referring to Senator Cook he said: "It's the first time I have seen a federal factional leader going around breaking arms and legs in the Northern Territory."

"I now feel like a leper within my own party."

In Canberra, the Left's dominance of the branch was shown when, despite its 10



Centre Left delegates voting with the Right. Ms Robinson defeated Mr Higgins by 106 votes to 103.

Ms Robinson, a 37-year-old medical computer programmer, contested preselection for the Senate seat held by Senator Susan Ryan last year, but lost by a sizeable margin.

Her elevation to the national executive yesterday came as the Left candidates in the ACT branch won most of the official branch jobs up for grabs at the conference.

The Left won seven out of 11 branch positions, including the job of president and secretary.

The new branch president is Ms Rosemary Pollett, a public servant, and the new secretary is Ms Cynthia Martin, who is on the staff of the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs.

The Right picked up only three administrative positions and the small Independent group, one position.

Ms Robinson's victory by three votes came after delegates to the conference from the Liquor Trades Union abstained from voting.

The three liquor trades delegates, who normally vote with the Right, decided not to

vote because of an internal dispute involving the Right in NSW.

The Left's vote was also boosted by the admittance to conference of two delegates from the Australian Theatrical Amusement & Employees Union.

Despite the strong showing by the Left, branch sources rejected suggestions that it represented part of a trend at the conference.

In recent years the national executive job has swapped between Right and Left delegates frequently.

One week ago in Hobart the Right claimed a national executive spot from the Centre Left when Mr Michael Polley replaced Mr Allan Evans.

For the past three years the Right had supported the Centre Left to prevent the Left holding two national executive positions in Tasmania.

The Right's other gain during the year, which this weekend's result has now negated, was Senator Gareth Evans's elevation to the Senate deputy leadership in place of Senator Don Grimes, who retired.

This parliamentary position brings with it a place on the national executive.

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CSO: 4200/842

# HAWKE RECONSIDERS DECISION AGAINST MORE SPENDING CUTS

Broadway TIMES ON SUNDAY in English 9 Aug 87 p 1

[Article by Geoff Kitney]

[Text]

PRIME Minister Bob Hawke has told senior Ministers to reconsider a decision taken only two weeks ago not to search for more cuts from politically sensitive big spending areas targeted in the May mini-Budget.

Mr Hawke indicated this week that he wanted Cabinet's expenditure review committee (ERC) to look at all areas of spending in the lead-up to the Federal Budget - despite election promises that this would not happen.

At its first post-election meeting the ERC decided to stand by the campaign promises and to restrict its second review to smaller departments untouched in the May mini-Budget.

This involved relatively small additional savings in the Budget to be brought down on September 15 - sufficient to cover the Government's major election promises which were the \$300 million family package and the \$25 million hospital waiting queues package.

But it also meant little prospect of a much lower Budget deficit than the "just under \$2 billion" indicated by Treasurer Paul Keating in May.

However, after discussions with senior Ministers it became clear that Mr Hawke wanted an early start on attacking the "structural problems" in Government spending.

To stick to the commitment not to go back to areas such as social security, education, defence, community services and health would delay this.

Advice from the Finance Department indicated the prospect of strong growth in spending in a range of key policy areas over the next few years which would make it very difficult to keep reducing the deficit.

Finance Minister Peter Walsh published on Friday the full list of programs identified as problem areas.

He said that if some or all of these programs - which include

age pensions, invalid pensions, education spending, child care and Commonwealth superannuation - were not cut then there would have to be further severe cuts in other areas.

The 13 programs he identified will add more than \$2 billion to Budget outlays this year and represent a real increase in spending of around seven per cent.

However, it is likely that the ERC will begin the ground work for a major overhaul of the structural deficit problem with the aim of bringing down another mini-budget early next year.

Mr Hawke's objective is to achieve a balanced Budget as quickly as possible but the Finance Department advice indicates that a balanced Budget can only be achieved if a concerted attack is made on the big growth spending areas.

Senator Walsh said that he was disappointed that the Hawke Government had "paid too little attention" in its first two years to tackle the growth in spending.

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DAILY SUPPORTS PROPOSAL FOR 4-YEAR PARLIAMENT TERM

Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English 3 Aug 87 p 8

[Editorial: "Case for Four-Year Term"]

[Text]

THE proposal to extend the federal parliamentary term from three years to four deserves support. The three-year term has shown itself to be so short as to have an adverse effect on efficient government. When a new government is elected it naturally takes ministers some months to get accustomed to their portfolios and become fully effective. Then, after two years in office the new government is distracted by the prospect of an election.

Should the government be re-elected it is then tempted to pick the tactically most advantageous moment for an election after about two years of its term have been served. Again it is distracted from the business of government by the prospect of an election.

Few comparable parliamentary systems in the world have an election cycle as short as three years. If the Government and the Opposition were to join in supporting a referendum to extend the term they would be likely to receive sufficient support for the proposal to pass.

However, the proposal would be more likely to pass if it were put on its own. If a proposal to make the term of Parliament a fixed period were added, this would have less chance of passing at a referendum. Making the fixed period more flexible by providing for an early election if a government secured the conditions for a double

dissolution, or if a government were defeated in a confidence vote, would make the proposition of a fixed term more attractive.

The benefit of some kind of a fixed term is that it makes the electoral process overall more neutral between the parties. That the timing of an election should not be subject to tactical, party political considerations is a good principle.

None the less, it is less likely that the Opposition would support, or the electorate pass, a fixed-term provision. Constitutional reform is probably most likely to succeed when discreet proposals for change are put singly, and when bipartisan support for such change is gained.

The best option for Senate terms would be to have all of the Senate elected at the same time as the House of Representatives and for the term of a Senator to be the same as that of a Member of the House of Representatives.

A change of this nature would in no way diminish the Senate's standing as a States' House. The least populous State, Tasmania, would still elect the same number of senators as the most populous, NSW.

Moreover, the smaller quotas required to elect a Senator under this system would tend to benefit minor parties and independent candidates

who can secure a substantial degree of support. The beauty of Australia's bicameral system of Parliament is that the House whose members are elected by single-member constituencies allows stable governments to be formed, while the House elected by proportional representation allows minority parties to be represented.

Australians have sensibly shown themselves to be cautious about constitutional reform, but to provide for greater efficiency, stability and continuity we should extend the term of the federal Parliament to four years.

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CSO; 4200/842

# VALENTINE RETAINS SENATE SEAT

Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English 4 Aug 87 p 4

[Article by staff reporters]

[Text]

SENATOR Jo Valentine yesterday defied her critics by clinching the final Senate position in Western Australia after a lengthy battle with the National Party.

Her win was sealed by Labor Party preferences, although the Premier of Western Australia, Mr Burke, had given a pre-election warning to electors not to vote for a "single-issue extremist".

The National Party's candidate, Mr James MacDonald, had led Senator Valentine throughout the counting. Even when the Electoral Commission began distributing final preferences yesterday, most observers thought Senator Valentine — who will sit as an Independent — would lose.

## Insignificant

The National Party's failure to win the 13th Senate seat — despite its holding a favourable position on the ballot paper — is a further indication of its lack of support in Western Australia, and follows its poor performance in the House of Representatives seat of O'Connor, which it had hoped to win from the Liberals.

The West Australian National Party, which has committed itself to the policies of the Queensland Nationals, has remained an insignificant force in a State where it had expected a new burgeoning of enthusiasm among voters.

Senator Valentine's victory was decided after she received the lion's share of the Democrats' preferences. They had flowed on from the Labor Party after its candidate, Mr Chris Evans, was knocked out of the voting.

A jubilant Senator Valentine, sipping on non-alcoholic champagne, yesterday admitted she had prepared herself for defeat. Only last week she received official notification that her parliamentary salary had been stopped on July 18.

"I suppose I had been mentally preparing myself to being a voluntary worker once again, which is what I've been for most of the years that I've been involved in the peace movement," she said.

Senator Valentine's pessimism seemed justified up until yesterday.

At the close of primary counting she had received 39,888 votes compared with Mr MacDonald's 48,218.

And the death-knell seemed to have sounded last Friday when the Nationals' vote was boosted to 62,742 — just \$36 short of success — with only the Democrats' preferences to be distributed. At the same point Senator Valentine's vote stood at 42,890.

However, when the Electoral Commission began distributing the Democrats' preferences yesterday it became clear that Mr MacDonald would be swamped.



He received only 608 votes from the Democrats while Senator Vallentine was pushed over the line with another 20,827 votes - giving her 897 more than the Nationals.

Mr MacDonald said his defeat was a disappointing blow to the National Party, which has not had a West Australian senator for a decade.

The Electoral Commission confirmed that eventually it was the Labor Party's preferences - which went first to the Democrats and then to Senator Vallentine - that made the difference.

Western Australia's 13 Senate vacancies will now be filled by Senator Vallentine, five each from Labor and Liberals and the newly elected Mrs Jean Jenkins for the Democrats.

Senator Vallentine said it would have been the Labor Party's fault if she had been defeated.

"If we had not managed to squeak in the Labor Party would have only had itself to blame for getting another National there because they actively campaigned against me," she said.

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COLUMNIST ON BEAZLEY OMISSIONS, SUBMARINE REPORTAGE

Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English 5 Aug 87 p 11

[Commentary by Peter Young: "Ministerial Torpedo on Policy Criticisms Wide of the Mark"]

[Text]

IN the lead-up to last month's election, Defence Minister Kim Beazley took me to task in the letters pages of The Australian for an article which he claimed was an "extraordinary misdirected attack on the Government's defence policy".

In doing so, he completely ignored the wider charges in the same article that the Government had reduced defence spending from the 3 per cent real increase spelled out by Dibb to a level of minus 1 per cent. He also disregarded reports of the high resignation rates that have resulted in the loss of close to a third of the entire armed forces since he took over the portfolio.

Mr Beazley also chose not to address the evidence of a lack of operational capability and flexibility in our existing defence force structure so amply demonstrated at the time of the Fiji coup.

These were all valid criticisms of national importance and deserving of a considered reply. Instead, Mr Beazley decided to play the man rather than the ball - accusing me of supporting Liberal Party defence policies and of "months of inaccurate reporting" on the submarine project.

It's taken a long time, but since Mr Beazley made his accusation, every scrap of coverage on the submarine program written for The Australian has been carefully scrutinized and analysed. The findings

show that the coverage has been astonishingly accurate.

But it is easy to understand Mr Beazley's sensitivity over the submarine project. By his own admission, the cost for the six boats has already blown out from an original \$2.6 to \$3.9 billion in June 1986 prices.

And even that was well below the \$4.3 billion agreed to by the Submarine Project Office last September and is believed to be based on an underestimation of the real costs in such areas as logistics, trials and insurance. As a result, the final cost is confidently expected to reach \$6 billion - making them the most expensive second-line submarines in the world.

Because of the complexity of the problem, there is also the high probability of a slippage in the program and growing doubts within the industry whether the first boat will be built in Australia or that the individual States will get the promised share of the workload.

Mr Beazley could also be sensitive to the unprecedented attack in the international defence press by the losing German contender - HDW/IKL - which last week publicly accused the Royal Australian Navy of "grossly distorting normal tender evaluation procedures".

The Germans are also reported to be about to sue the Australian Government over the

# Table 1. Comparison of German Type 209, Navy reassessed (down), Swedish Type 671 (original) and Navy reassessed (up)

	German Type 209 (original)	Navy reassessed (down)	Swedish Type 671 (original)	Navy reassessed (up)
Covert transit range	100	61.4	98	104.4
Days on station	105	67	98	100
Battery endurance	100	84	104	110
Indiscretion rate on station	80	70	70	60

(Original figures expressed as a percentage of the RAN's required ship characteristics.)

way in which it conducted the competition.

But this latest charge is only the latest in a saga which started when the navy chose to forgo the opportunity of taking the quantum jump to nuclear and opted for a conventional design on the grounds that to do otherwise might have endangered the whole project.

The next milestone was when the navy passed over existing British and Dutch designs and instead decided to go for two "paper" boats - the German Type 209 and the Swedish 671. This was despite the fact that the original specifications called for proven designs of demonstrable performance and reliability aimed at limiting the technical risks involved in building the boats in Australia.

At first the Germans appeared to have the edge but the decision eventually went to the Swedes. From that moment on, the navy began to leak like a sieve, with one classified AUSTEO - Australian eyes only - document showing that the project team had arbitrarily upgraded the capabilities of the Swedish boat while downgrading those of the Germans.

As the table shows, the Germans came out very much on the losing end, being downgraded in every area including higher "indiscretion rates" - the time spent at risk while snorkelling.

The alleged deficiencies in the German boat as outlined in the report also included range limitations, inadequate

fuel and battery storage, weaknesses in the weapon discharge and handling system, plus limitations on space shock standards, acoustic emissions, safety and damage control.

Since the Germans are arguably the most experienced diesel-electric submarine designers in the world, who claim that their designs have never failed to achieve between 5 and 10 per cent more performance in practice than was offered, they were understandably upset - especially when the re-assessment was carried out by a navy which had never before designed or built a submarine from scratch.

They also claim that the Swedish boat as offered did not meet the navy's operational requirements. Their own boat they say had exceeded the navy's requirements in every significant respect and that this had been confirmed by the navy. Yet the navy, they claim, had then argued the case for the Swedish boat on their own assessment figures not on what was offered and guaranteed by the tenderers.

These are of course very serious charges that strike right at the heart of the navy's competence and conduct of the project. If they are true, then we have the amazing situation where the navy has ignored guaranteed tendered offers from one of the world's best submarine designers and effectively told the Swedes that they really don't know how good their own boat is.

Another problem is that contractual negotiations between the Swedes and the winning combat house of Rockwell, were still not yet finalised at the time of writing.

Both the Minister and the navy stand by their decision - and a careful check of the records by The Australian earlier this year made it clear that no impropriety of any kind had taken place and that the final decision had been taken on an overall assessment of a wide range of factors.

The major question posed by the Germans however is on what level of expertise those independent assessments were made and whether the Swedes will be prepared to meet performance figures well beyond those for which they legitimately tendered.

One answer of course is that all we are seeing is a bad case of sour grapes but the detail of the Germans' case and the fact that they have been published in the prestigious international publication - Jane's Defence Weekly - must give pause for thought.

It is perhaps against the ongoing coverage of all of this - and much more, that the Minister may have become upset. As to the other charges of political bias towards the Liberal defence policies, that must be left to others to judge.

But the bottom line is that as opposed to the many letters published in support of The Australian's coverage of defence, there have only ever been four letters of complaint - three of them from Mr Beanley.

/13046

CSO: 4200/842

# ECONOMIC, SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN PNOMH PENH VIEWED

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 15 May 87 p 80

[Article by Cordt Schnibben: "The City, the Homeless - Pnomh Penh Has Been Governed in Turn by a Prince, a General, a Mass Murderer, the Rats--And Now Anarchy Reigns"]

[Text] The room is dark. The ceiling fan must have stopped, because I no longer hear it swishing. Nor is the clattering air conditioning system working now, after it kept its noise kept me from sleep a few hours ago. Everything is dead quiet. It was the heat that woke me. Electricity failure. No breath of air stirs the sweat on my skin, only a shower might bring some relief. Unfortunately, two rats, four geckos similar in size to young alligators and a dozen cockroaches are lying in wait in the bathroom. Even in daytime I need to pound on the door a few times to get them running away before I enter. What could I do at night, without the protection of the light bulb?

For 4 years nobody disturbed these creatures in the Monorom Hotel; they owned not just the hotel but the entire city. Even now they have not gotten used to the fact that Phnom Penh, Kampuchea's capital, has been repopulated. In any case, residents have more important matters on their mind than chasing rats and cockroaches. As a result, the pests continue largely undisturbed, without consideration for the sensibilities of occasional hotel guests.

Phnom Penh is an indescribably filthy city, a metropolis of garbage and vermin. Still, any foreigner arriving in Phnom Penh is less surprised by its extreme disorder than by its extreme normalcy. Swarms of cyclists peaceably ride along the streets; many new motorbikes interfere with them; the roadside food stalls are heaped; private markets flourish; beauty parlors have reopened--is this the face of a city that had ceased to exist?

Phnom Penh was the loveliest city in Asia while the prince governed it. The French colonial rulers had laid it out generously, with broad avenues, ochre colored villas and imposing buildings. While U.S.firms in neighboring Bangkok and the U.S.Army in neighboring Saigon turned these cities upside down, Phnom



Penh under Prince Sihanouk remained an elegant metropolis with the charm of a French provincial city and the peacefulness of an Asian idyll. The oddball prince--a capricious feudal lord at home, an astute diplomat abroad--managed to keep his capital at an equidistance from Washington, Moscow, Beijing, Paris and Hanoi.

He permitted the Viet Cong to use the Cambodian provinces bordering on Vietnam as supply bases and refuges, and the Americans were permitted to bomb them. However, when the loads of bombs grew month by month and Sihanouk indicated some displeasure, his end came fast.

In 1970 General Lon Nol overthrew the prince with the help of the Americans and offered up the country to the new ally who destroyed it in only 3 years. Half a million ton bombs, a new record in the history of warfare, converted large parts of Asia's most fertile land to a moonscape and drove half the survivors across the borders and to Phnom Penh. As the result of the napalm terror, the other half merged with the Viet Cong and the Khmer Rouges: Exactly those from whom the bombs were meant to save them.

Phnom Penh became the refuge, silted up and grew filthy within a few months, took shelter behind barbed wire and sandbags. When it appeared that everything was over, when Pol Pot's Khmer Rouges finally liberated the capital also, the most brutal phase of the destruction began. The 2 million residents were dragged from their homes and driven through the streets, anywhere into the bombed out countryside. Cambodia no longer had a capital, in fact had no cities at all. All it had were work camps. Phnom Penh turned into a ghost town where the rats were kings.

The 20-year old woman who wants to sell me a pack of cigarettes on the main street, is able to look back on a life that she subdivides "into the time of the bombs, the time of the camp and the time of hunger." The 37-year old beggar who squats apathetically on the footpath, lived through Nixon's century of bombs and Pol Pot's stone age--what else can anyone want of him?

Many aimless people lounge in the streets of Phnom Penh. Once the world made their country everybody's battlefield, they seem to have washed their hands off the world. They doze at the roadside on rotten boxes or wait for the night in their dark hovels. Aside from the lively business streets, Phnom Penh looks like a city occupied by tired desperados for temporary rest.

Nobody pays rent, nor electricity nor water. The zero payment exacts its price: Electricity fails regularly, and the piped water is mixed with sewage. Foreigners clean their teeth with Heineken beer or Coca Cola.

The 37 private markets of Phnom Penh also offer Pepsi Cola, just as Coca Cola light, Seven-Up and Dr Pepper's.

The few West European residents sarcastically call the capital the "Harrods of Indochina." Where is the source of the Sony tape recorders, color TV sets, nylons, cameras, Seiko watches, pop cassettes, Lacoste shirts and Adidas shoes? "They come from Thailand and Singapore, by ship to Kompong Som," says a market vendor who carries lighters, ballpoint pens and nail polish in all

colors. "Middlemen carry the merchandise to Phnom Penh on their cycles and mopeds and then sell it to us." She talks fairly good French, learned when she was a young girl in the age of the prince. She complains that her location tax has doubled in 2 years. The government benefits from the black market that has long ceased to be black. Though the commodities arrive in the country by unauthorized routes, the public treasury gets a cut of the sales.

Flat wooden roofs provide shade for customer, merchandise and vendor. Goods are heaped on hundreds of small tables, shelves and boxes. Prices are quoted only on demand. "What do you want for this ballpoint pen?"--"That is a very good quality pen from France, a Bic, it costs a dollar!"--"And how many riel?"--"I only take dollars."--"Why?"--"Because I had to pay in dollars."--"How many dollars did you pay?" She laughs and shrugs her shoulders: "I don't remember...."--"More than 50 cents?" She smiles and shakes her head. A lighter made in Singapore could be paid for in riels, the Cambodian currency. She knows the day's rate: "That would be 123 riel, equals a dollar."

Phnom Penh's black market is organized like a department store. Here is the department for tropical fruit, there underwear, somewhere else bicycle parts and all the way in the back the restaurant. Karstadt's lingerie department may be more opulent, but the restaurant area of the black market in Phnom Penh easily beats any German department store restaurant: The small food stalls of the private cooks offer 60-70 different menus.

Seated at a wooden table are five soldiers, happily smacking their lips and chatting. Their skin is lighter than that of the other people around, their faces are less square. Over there four Vietnamese soldiers are having a meal. The occupiers! A rare sight, because usually soldiers from the neighboring country keep out of sight in Phnom Penh. Western development aid personnel who often travel throughout the country also report that the Vietnamese are invisible in many provinces, too. They are alleged to number 140,000, a hidden army.

Khmers and Vietnamese are linked by centuries of enmity. Ever since the 9th Century they have regularly invaded one another, four times in just the last 20 years: In early 1970, General Lon Nol incited the Khmer against the 400,000 Vietnamese living in Cambodia ("they are all Viet Congs"). Tens of thousands were massacred. When, the following month, the South Vietnamese Army, together with the U.S. forces, invaded the eastern provinces of Cambodia to destroy Viet Cong hideouts, the Vietnamese took their revenge on the Khmer farmers ("they are all helping the Viet Cong"). From 1975 on, Pol Pot's Khmer Rouges liquidated any Vietnamese within their grip. In 1979 Vietnamese forces occupied the country, drove out Pol Pot's army and installed a group of Khmer Rouges friendly to Hanoi. Never in all of the checkered history of battle orgies were the Vietnamese welcome in Cambodia. Were...

The five soldiers at the table carry no weapons. When they notice that I am photographing them, one of them makes an angry gesture. Another one gets up and asks whether I am an American. "No, no, German"! Allemand! The cook translates it for him, all jump up and insist on my taking their photographs. Laughing and yelling like street urchins they take off.

Taking a ricksha is the only way in Phnom Penh to get from one place to the other. The heat forbids any walking. Moreover, the bicycle rickshaw drivers are mines of information if they speak English or French. Unfortunately only five or six are left, each of whom claims to be the only multilingual rickshaw driver in Phnom Penh. Anyone admitting to speaking a foreign language in the Pol Pot years was killed out of hand.

My man is a liar. He only knows the words hello, whatsyournane, girl, massage and sun. If I interpret him correctly, he wants to show me a sunrise or sundown. Cars are dangerous foreign bodies in the stream of bicycles and can forge themselves a passage way only by constantly sounding their horns. We are overtaken by an old Mercedes without windows, driven by an obvious black market wholesaler. He almost collides with a she-elephant who, together with her baby, calmly and against all traffic regulations, forages in an evil smelling garbage heap to find food remains.

Tuel Sleng was first a high school, later Pol Pot's torture center. Now it is a museum, a school against torture. The tools are lying ready as if someone had just put them down: Pincers to work on genitals, barbed wire chains, whips, water buckets, electric clamps. "Volunteers to the front," a tourist from the FRG calls out and adds "all this is nothing by comparison with Auschwitz."

The well scrubbed tiled walls and floors radiate the cleanliness of a slaughterhouse. 21,000 people, suspected of being agents of the CIA, KGB or Vietnamese, were tortured here and later killed outside the city. At least they knew why they were being murdered. The 2-3 million Khmer who were throttled, suffocated and bludgeoned to death did not know why.

The guide in the museum explains the 4 years of blood lust in the land of the Khmer by saying that "it was not just Pot Pol, there was also the hatred of the countryfolk for the city people. The cities were spared the bombs of the Americans. As far as the farmers were concerned, the city people shared the guilt for their fate. Pol Pot's people exploited that hatred. They told them that the people in the cities were not proper Khmers but foreign agents." The in-group around Pol Pot, generated in Maoist Parisian student circles, wished to lead Cambodia to communism in a new world record time and therefore needed to liquidate everything of the old world, including the old people.

"I was a student at the time, totally apolitical," the guide tells us. "I had to throw my glasses away and pretend to be a farmer in order to survive." He was deported to the north of the country. In 1979 Vietnamese soldiers chased away his guards and sent him on his way to Phnom Penh--on foot.

Whoever arrived in the capital occupied an apartment that took his fancy. Allocations did not begin until much later. Mountains of rusted refrigerators and stoves were lying in the streets. All houses were wrecked and emptied of all objects of the bourgeois society.

Everyone who was liberated made for Phnom Penh, on rafts, water buffaloes or on foot. Gangs of orphaned children also reached the city. "At first we housed them in the ruins of the schools," we are told by Cun Long, principal



of the orphanage, "they are still living in this home. The boys stay until they are conscripted, the girls until they get married. Pol Pot left 200,000 orphans. The residents in the home painted their childhood in multicolored pictures, many sketched the death of their parents. The faces of the torturers are scratched away.

The workers of Phnom Penh's largest textile factory needed 4 months to get the spinning and weaving machines back into operation. But even now only two thirds of all plant are working, because spare parts for the Japanese machines are lacking. Kampuchea is being boycotted by the western countries, the government not recognized because Vietnamese occupiers are in the country. The workers are squatting dispiritedly next to the machines but jump up when they see the factory director approaching with us. They earn 262 riel per month; a box of detergent costs half of that, a bicycle 10 times more. In addition they are allocated 21 kg rice per month and a little soap and fabrics.

The Samaki Hotel used to be the Royal and a luxury hotel. The daughters of French plantation owners liked to lounge around the swimming pool. Now dozens of white jeeps are parked in front of the yellow palace, built in the colonial style, and the illuminated pool is filthy. The room plan at the reception desk looks like the organizational chart for a disaster exercise: International Red Cross, Unicef, World Food Program, Society of Friends, UNHCR, Oxfam. Nobody is in the lobby, not even behind the reception desk. However, we see a light shining from the pool bar by the exit to the gardens. Its door is locked, but we hear typewriters clattering. Eventually a young Khmer in gym trunks opens the door.

All he can offer us is beer, Saigon Export. A development aide from the GDR notes that something is going on in the bar and emerges from his room. Together with Netherlanders and Italians he is working at a UN irrigation project. A nurse and a physician from Sweden, newly arrived from Kompong Chnang, a provincial city 2.5 hours from Saigon, join us. They have been working in a hospital there for the past 6 months. The physician tells us that "we have amputations twice or three times a week, following accidents with old and possibly new mines. Most patients come to see us complaining of gastritis. They are all still fearful of Pol Pot's guerrilla forces."

The hospital was misused as a prison until 1979. At the present time four Cambodians assist the two Swedes. Three of them were trained by Soviet physicians in Phnom Penh. The Swedish medic complains that "I cannot rely on them, the fourth--trained in Hanoi--is much better." He is constantly plagued by the lack of drugs; he does not have an X-ray machine. He is reduced to diagnosing tuberculosis by listening to the lungs. Cooperation with the authorities is difficult, as difficult as in any developing country. Everything needs a lot of time. The situation is improving very slowly indeed. "Fifteen percent of the children are malnourished, but the school system works well. The country should not be left to the Russians, the West owes Cambodia reparation. We could do so much with just a few million dollars."

It is now 21.00 hours. The curfew has been in force for the last 2 hours. However, we need to get back to our hotel. The streets are empty and pitch dark. A soldier squats at a crossing. He gets up slowly when he sees us. He calls something that we do not understand. We hold out a cigarette, and he grins and takes it.

Only a flashlight flickers in the lobby of our hotel. Electricity failure. The porter is fast asleep under his mosquito net. Three barefoot apparitions have gotten hold of the telephone and seem to be talking to Hanoi, Moscow or Washington. They take fright when we come in. But we have other things to worry about--we still have to take a bath.

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## BRIEFS

**RAILROAD OPERATIONS**--In the course of this year the rail system of Kampuchea has taken its proper place among the country's transport facilities. Despite the obsolete infrastructure of the railroad, inherited from capitalism, and despite the total destruction wrought during the Pol Pot rule, freight carriage is growing each day. Heroic efforts by construction, repair and line workers have managed to restore 750 km tracks crossing 200 bridges as well as repair virtually all the rolling stock. Success has also been achieved with respect to the very involved task of training new national cadres, because the Pol Pot clique had killed off almost all railroaders. Aid from the Soviet Union, Vietnam and other fraternal countries enabled Kampuchea to cope with this complex problem. At present scheduled rail services connect the capital with other cities such as Battambang in the north of the country and Kompong Som, the most important seaport of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. [Text] [Tselinograd FREUNDSCHAFT in German 21 May 87 p 3] 11698

**AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION**--The rice harvest in Kampuchea's dry season is assuming ever more important proportions. This year the harvest will involve more than 125,000 hectares. The grain has ripened well in the dry season, and this most important food crop of the republic will yield 2 percent more than in the same period last year. The spring rice harvest yields a considerable addition to the main harvest brought in in the fall and winter months. The expansion of rice cultivation areas is therefore a significant part of the program embarked upon by the government of the People's Republic of Cambodia for increasing the output of food for domestic consumption. Rice cultivation in the dry season requires far more irrigation, because there is virtually no rain for 3-4 months, and it is necessary to store water for irrigation. This water is collected in artificial reservoirs lifted slightly above the fields and taken to the parcels by a system of canals. The government allocates substantial amounts for the repair of existing reservoirs and the construction of new installations. [Text] [Tselinograd FREUNDSCHAFT in German 26 May 87 p 3] 11698

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## NATIONAL RECOVERY PLAN--UMNO YOUTH'S ANSWER TO UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 5 Aug 87 p 8

[Article by Azam Aris]

[Text]

THE Umno Youth National Recovery Plan (NRP) was born out of an urgent need to find solutions to the country's economic and unemployment problems.

Mooted by Umno Youth at the 38th Umno General Assembly in April, the NRP is the work of a committee of 10 top Bumiputera economists in the country set up to look into a suitable economic recovery plan that can be presented to the Government.

The team was led by Encik Abdul Ghani Osman, the head of the Umno Youth Economic Bureau. He is the former dean of the Economic Faculty of University Malaya.

Encik Ghani says the team held weekly meetings over two months to come up with the specific details and strategies for economic recovery.

The plan aims to reflate the economy by increasing development expenditure and private investment that will eventually bring about greater employment opportunities.

### Industries

The plan outlines five main strategies:

■ A national action programme aimed at promoting employment through the establishment of a national development youth corp which will undertake various rural and urban construction programmes.

■ A restructuring and accelerated programme for industrial development (Rapid) based on the Industrial Master Plan with focus on small- and medium-scale industries.

This plan includes a rescue effort to assist genuine ailing Bumiputera companies, consolidation of the Malaysian Industrial Development Fund (MIDF), Bank Pembangunan and Bank Kemajuan Perusahaan Malaysia into a new development finance institution, relaxation of the Industrial Coordination Act, removal of red tape and speeding up foreign investment, especially from small- and medium-scale Japanese investors.

■ Accelerating the privatization programme. This calls for disposal of government assets to the private sector, faster land alienation to public companies for development, establishment of real estate investment trusts, open sale of

public enterprises to the private sector and rationalisation of Hilcom and other non-financial public enterprises (NFPEs).

### **Reserves**

■ Institutional strategy for economic recovery, including upgrading the Economic Planning Unit (EPU), creating a council of economic advisers to assist the Government and strengthening the Malaysian Industrial Development Authority (Mida).

■ Financing the rising development expenditure by increasing oil production to the 1985 level of 800,000 barrels a day to bring in an additional \$2 billion a year, privatizing and selling government assets (\$1 billion a year), drawing down Bank Negara reserves to a

six-month level of retained imports (expected to yield a further \$3 billion to \$4 billion), floating new loans and bonds on the domestic market.

Encik Ghani says the plan has been submitted to the Government through Deputy Prime Minister Abdul Ghafar Baba and Finance Minister Daim Zainuddin and the response has been encouraging.

Umno Youth will now make the plans available to all Umno divisions throughout the country, research institutions, chambers of commerce, academicians, economists and political parties.

It will set up a surveillance unit to monitor all feedbacks on the NRP and, at a later stage, to look at the implementation of the programme.

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## REACTIONS TO NATIONAL RECOVERY PLAN

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 5 Aug 87 p 8

[Text]

THE National Recovery Plan (NRP) formally unveiled by Umno Youth on July 19 has naturally aroused much public interest. Business organisations, political parties, academicians and bankers all have something to say about it.

The Federal Territory Malay Chamber of Commerce thinks "it makes a lot of sense and is worth looking into."

Barisan Nasional (BN) component parties have welcomed it. Gerakan secretary-general Kerk Choo Ting described the plan as "a good idea although not quite as comprehensive as it should be".

Significantly, the opposition DAP did not object to the plan but called for "open dialogues" to discuss it.

Academicians, economists and bankers provided much "feedback" with their comments and opinions. One professor, for example, said some of the strategies spelled out in the plan "should and can be implemented".

### Opinions

Bankers say some of the ideas are not new. Bank Buruh's chief executive, Dr R. Thillainathan, though, sounded a word of warning that economic recovery through increased government spending — as proposed by the NRP — could lead to damaging consequences in the medium and long term.

Irrespective of the differing opinions, the message was clear — the public want to hear more about the NRP which, according to Umno Youth, can help solve the country's economic

problems, including unemployment.

The head of the Umno Youth Economic Bureau, Encik Abdul Ghani Osman, said the youth wing welcomes any criticisms against the plan but adds that the NRP should be viewed as a package proposal rather than as separate ideas or strategies.

"The NRP is a package proposal and it should move as such," he said in an interview recently.

However, Umno Youth has yet to make known the plan to as wide a spectrum of the public as it should. It has so far provided the public with only a glimpse of the plan through newspapers, radio and television.

### Reflationary policy

But Encik Ghani gave an assurance that Umno Youth will distribute copies of the plan to party members, research institutes, academicians, economists and all political parties so that they can get a better perspective of it.

"We are prepared to listen to anybody, we will invite them for discussions to help to improve the plan," he said.

As a first step, Umno Youth leader Datuk Najib Tun Abdul Razak is expected to invite BN youth wings to a dialogue on the NRP soon.

It is good to see that political parties are beginning to talk about economic matters without racial considerations. Although the NRP offers suggestions to help ailing Bumiputera companies, the overall plan addresses the problem of the nation as a whole rather than just those of the Bumiputeras.

The plan, made available to the media during its official

latnching, does not mention the sacrosanct 30 per cent Bumiputera equity target which in the past often dominated conventions or seminars organised by Umno or other Bumiputera bodies.

Basically the NRP is a three-year plan that will serve as a transition to the adoption and implementation of a replacement for the New Economic Policy after 1990. It outlines specific proposals for economic recovery but the gist calls for the Government to tackle the root of the economic problems by accelerating growth and creating employment.

This is to be achieved by moderately reflating the economy through monetary expansion, and increased public expenditure and private sector investment.

To supplement this expansionary programme, the plan calls for an economic restructuring that is geared towards growth, productivity and competition, expansion of the industrial base and share of the world market, and commitment to technology.

### Five strategies

It also involves deregulation, revitalisation of the rural sector, modernisation of agriculture and promotion of foreign investment.

Encik Ghani, who is Deputy Minister of Energy, Telecommunication and Posts, said the NRP is open to discussion because Umno Youth feels that economic recovery and higher economic growth can only be attained if there is national unity.

"The recovery effort must be undertaken on the basis of a national consensus and we should contribute to building that national consensus. Any recovery effort must be consistent with the principles of the Rukun Negara and must be fair to all," he said.

It is in this spirit that Umno Youth should be receptive to opinions and responses on the plan from every strata of society, he added.

The NRP lays down five strategies — a national action programme for employment growth; a restructuring and accelerated programme for industrial development (Rapid); accelerated privatization; and financial and institutional measures for economic recovery.

These plans can only be executed in an expanding economy which Umno Youth believes can be achieved if the Government were to pump in at least \$3 billion more annually to reinforce development expenditure over the next three years.

The reflationary policy — action by a government to reduce excessive unemployment after a period of deflation by encouraging a controlled increase in the supply of money to increase demand — is not an uncommon proposal among economists.

Proponents of such a include the Malaysian Institute of Economic Research (Mier) which has, for instance, made a similar suggestion to the Government during the recent pre-Budget dialogue with Finance Minister Daim Zainuddin.

The MCA, too, at one of its economic seminars, stressed the importance of economic growth, arguing that there will be no distribution if there is no growth.

Some economists have, however, cautioned Umno Youth on the adverse effects that a reflationary policy can bring.

Bank Baruh chief executive Dr R. Thillainathan says the pursuit of such a policy could lead to mounting fiscal and external deficits, a rising debt burden, inflationary pressures, and falling economic growth, job opportunities and living standards.

### Growth rates

However, Encik Ghani stressed, Umno Youth is proposing the adoption of mild and moderate expansionary policies that will not result in inflation or a drastic rise in the country's debt.

The Government, he argued, should strive for higher growth and an average annual growth rate of more than 5 per cent in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

The NRP forecast of 2.0 to 2.5 per cent growth in real GDP this year, 3.5 to 4.0 per cent in 1988 and about 4.5 per cent in 1989 and 1990 suggests steady recovery over the next three years.

But these rates are well below the historical real GDP growth trend of 7 to 8 per cent, which reflects Malaysia's productive potential.



"We should have to go back to the 1970s, the years of high economic growth. The Government's austerity drive through persistent cutbacks in public expenditure has been too drastic and, together with falling commodity prices, has induced the recessionary impulse in the last two years."

Since the balance of payments problems is expected to be brought under control and the government deficit contained, Umno Youth recommends that the Government aim for a growth rate of 5 per cent in 1988, then 6 and 7 per cent for the subsequent two years.

Encik Ghani said the injection of at least \$5 billion over the next three years to the development expenditure budget of the Fifth Malaysia Plan budget can add a further 2.0 to 2.5 per cent to GDP growth.

He said the policy package for economic recovery includes a recommendation to review the wage structure to ensure greater flexibility in wage

determination. "Any wage system proposed must be commensurate with the rising productivity of labour and the profitability of the enterprise."

## Policy

To be effective in solving the unemployment problem, the expansionary fiscal policy should be oriented towards programmes that are labour- and skill-intensive, he added.

The way has been paved for open discussion on economic recovery and a post-1990 economic policy. What Umno Youth should do now is to make available the plan to the public and invite all quarters, including opposition parties, to discuss ways to rid the country of its economic ills.

Political parties should disregard their sectarian approach when calling for a new national economic policy, which can only be successfully implemented if it is endorsed by the people through national consensus.

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## RESTRUCTURING OF CIVIL SERVICE WORK FORCE TO STEP UP EFFECTIVENESS

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 5 Aug 87 p 10

[Text]

**KUALA LUMPUR, Tues. —** The Government has drawn up several long and short term measures to check the growing bureaucracy in the country and simultaneously upgrade its productivity.

Malaysia has a civil service strength of 800,000 which accounts for 5.5 per cent of the population and takes up 26 per cent of the Federal Government's annual operating expenditure.

In an interview published in the latest issue of *Merdeka* — Umno's official organ — Minister in the Prime Minister's Department Datuk Dr Yusof Noor said the measures include regulating the creation of new posts and filling of vacancies to be based on priority considerations.

Others are optimising staff utilisation through productivity increase and more systematic manpower planning.

Emphasis is given to restructuring the civil service organisation to step up its effectiveness, make it more compact and avoid duplication of functions.

Datuk Dr Yusof assures that attention will still be given to increasing staff in important sectors such as the education, medical and health services and sectors contributing to boosting the national revenue.

The country has a civil servant to population ratio that is much higher than those of developed nations like Britain. The ratio is one

per every 27 persons compared with Britain's one per every 80 persons, he says.

He says that even with the lower ratio, developed countries can provide an efficient civil service and he sees no reason why the larger sized Malaysian civil service cannot do better.

According to *Merdeka*, the 800,000-strong civil service which also makes up 15.5 per cent of the country's total workforce can be considered "really large."

The publication says that from the aspect of national expenditure, 26 per cent of the Government's annual operating expenditure go to emoluments or salaries of the staff while payment of pension benefits takes up another five per cent.

This situation, if not checked, can affect the Government's financial capability in providing facilities for the people and developing the nation, it adds.

Acting in the light of this realisation, the Government had at end 1984 launched a programme to check the growing bureaucracy which swelled rapidly in size in the 1970s and early 1980s.

"However, the Government has not laid down specific figures for the staff size in its efforts to trim the civil service," Datuk Dr Yusof says.

Attention is given to consolidating the existing manpower by boosting their productivity, he adds.

*Bernama.*

# LANGE THREATENS TO CLOSE PORTS TO USSR OVER SEAL KILLING

Melbourne THE AGE in English 4 Aug 87 p 8

[Article by Mary Louise O'Callaghan]

[Text]

New Zealand will close its ports to Soviet ships unless the Soviet Union stopped killing seals in the Antarctica, the Prime Minister, Mr Lange, said today.

He said the New Zealand Government had protested twice this year to the Soviets over the killings.

"These representations on my instructions told the Soviet Union that if further sealing expeditions were conducted then New Zealand ports would be closed as a means of access to the Antarctica," he said.

The environmental group, Greenpeace, estimated that about 5000 Antarctic seals were killed by the Soviet Union last summer.

Greenpeace, which established a permanent base in Antarctica in January, yesterday claimed that the Soviet Union had flouted an international convention protecting seals in the region.

The group said it learnt from New Zealand Government sources that the Soviets had killed 4804 seals in the Indian-Pacific Ocean sectors of Antarctica — which includes territory claimed by Australia and New Zealand.

"Greenpeace is very concerned that this could be the beginning of some kind of commercial sealing venture," Mr Tim Gentie, a Greenpeace spokesman, said.

"All the seals which were taken were apparently used. The meat was taken back to the Soviet Union and all the carcasses were used within the Soviet Union."

Mr Vladimir Ivanov, a spokesman for the Soviet embassy in New Zealand, today denied that seals captured by the Soviets were being used for commercial purposes, but he confirmed that from December 1986 to January 1987, 4014 crab eater seals were killed in the Antarctic zone.

He said the Soviet Union was a party to the international convention on sealing and had not breached its conditions.

The convention states that seals in the Antarctica can only be killed or captured for scientific research, including providing specimens for museums or to provide indispensable food for "men or dogs".

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THAILAND

COLUMNIST CRITICIZES U.S. POLICY, CITES PHILIPPINES, ROK

42070255b Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 25 Jul 87 p 2

[Around the World column by Trairat: "America at the Present Time"]

[Text] Some of President Reagan's foreign policies must be applauded. But others are not good.

The United States has made quick decisions to prevent turmoil and keep things from getting out of hand. For example, it exerted pressure on the former dictator Marcos, who packed up his family and who is licking his wounds in Hawaii. The United States has helped Mrs Aquino by providing information on Marcos' activities and on who Marcos has sent in an attempt to regain power. Most recently, they foiled Marcos' plan to hire mercenaries and send weapons to topple Aquino. Now that this plan has been exposed, it is clear that Marcos is finished. The United States has also threatened to take action against Marcos if he does not stop engaging in such activities. What this means is that the United States wants to give the Aquino government a chance to handle matters. But if it becomes apparent that this government is not capable of handling things, the United States will consider taking steps to remove Aquino.

As for South Korea, after evaluating the situation, it is clear that Chun Doo Hwan will not be able to resist the people's force. The situation there is proceeding in the same direction as in the Philippines. The United States is exerting great pressure on Chun Doo Hwan to give up power. Some news reports state that the United States has supported South Korean military groups to the point where Chun Doo Hwan has been forced to give in to the people and accede to their demand for a direct presidential election. Thus, the opposition is very hopeful of winning.

A very simple rule is that the United States will support the victor and abandon the loser. In the past, the United States has supported the losing government on several occasions and suffered serious losses. An example is its support for the Shah of Iran against Khomeini.

Both South Korea and the Philippines are strategic points for the United States, and it must protect them. The important thing is the people's forces. If the people oppose the United States, that will be very damaging. It might

not be able to keep its military bases. If it loses its two bases in the Philippines, that is Clark and Subic, U.S. military influence in this region will be seriously effected. As for South Korea, even though the U.S. bases here are not as big, it does have 41,000 troops stationed here, including important air units. These bases form an important link with the bases in Japan. The United States is very concerned about these bases.

The United States has learned from its past experiences. It is no longer willing to stick by dictators, because it now knows that the sword and gun cannot resist public opinion forever. The use of martial law to suppress the people just leads to loss of life and heavy losses. It cannot solve the country's problems. It just brings the situation to a head that much more quickly.

The United States has begun groping for the right path. It is trying to support democratic governments, because regardless of the changes made, U.S. interests will not be affected, and it will still be able to have a close association.

Whenever a tense situation arises or there is turmoil somewhere, people from Washington will go there to monitor things. But actually, they are the ones who will determine the outcome and determine the fate of the leader at that time. Leaders in underdeveloped countries are often rather stupid. They are more afraid of the United States than their own people. It is these leaders who have trouble finding a place to live. Marcos and the Shah are good examples. There will probably be many more.

11943



## THAILAND

### BUSINESS LEADER COMMENTS ON SOVIET TRADE ISSUE

42070259c Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 3 Jul 87 p 3

[Unattributed report: "State Awakens To Possibility of Trading with the Soviet Union, Involves Private Sector in Hope of Penetrating Major Market"]

[Text] Mr Thapana Bunnak, the secretary of the Thai Chamber of Commerce, talked about the discussions that have been held on trading with the socialist countries and the Soviet Union. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a letter asking people in the private sector to cooperate with the government in trading with these countries. It prepared a list of goods that Thailand is interested in buying from the socialist countries and a list of goods that Thailand would like to exchange through counter trade and sent them to the Committee on Counter Trade for consideration. Mr Thapana said that discussions have been held with six trade associations, that is, the Thai Cassava Trade Association, the Rice Exporters Association, the Thai Corn and Farm Crops Merchants Association, the Processed Food Producers Association, the Thai Clothing Industry Association, and the International Trade Association, on doing business with the Soviet Union and Eastern socialist countries.

Mr Thapana said that with respect to improving the quality of Thai goods, the government has asked the members to control the quality of the goods. But the trade associations cannot do this alone. The government must cooperate, too. For example, with respect to a certain item or a trade association that deals in just one item, there should be just one association involved. The government should not authorize the establishment of duplicate entities. Because if they can't control things themselves, the government will have to use its power to withdraw their registration or revoke their business license.

Mr Thapana added that with respect to holding trade negotiations with the socialist countries, the associations do not agree with the proposal of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which has proposed selecting capable and reliable private companies to serve as representatives in trading with these countries. Doing things this way will interfere with free trade. "How could the trade associations possibly participate in stipulating regulations to allot quotas to the members trading with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries! That would be a system of privileges. Companies have cut the prices of certain

goods. Something should be done to stop this. The principle of free contact between the traders, between the buyers and sellers, should be maintained," said Mr Thapana.

As for trade contacts, which may take the form of bartering, if it is necessary to conduct trade negotiations, the government should be the one to negotiate both quantities and prices. If the government does not have goods to send in accord with the contracts, it can purchase goods from exporters using bids. But if the government lacks the knowledge and confidence to negotiate with the socialist countries and reach trade agreements, the trade associations can participate in the negotiations. The associations can take responsibility and divide things among the members fairly and with the approval of the government. "The way to solve the problems concerning certain items for which there is great competition, which could damage the economy, is to issue statements concerning which goods the state can sell itself."

11943

OPINION MAKERS FAULT DK, SIHANOUK, CITE PRK FAVORABLY

Columnist Calls CGDK "Dreamers," Sitthi "Liar"

42070276 Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 6 Aug 87 p 3

[Right Wing column by Masuk Suankhwanpun: "The Khmer Coalition from Observers"]

[Excerpts] A foreign scholar who holds a PhD degree is doing research on the Khmer coalition. He attended a meeting held in Thailand at the end of last month and followed the CGDK problem closely. He said that this was becoming very tiresome. The Khmer coalition groups are "dreaming."

Peace could be restored in Cambodia if the various Cambodian factions put aside their administrative differences and stopped thinking that they are more patriotic than any of the other factions. Each faction charges that the other factions are not patriotic. This does not help anything, except to keep Vietnam in Cambodia.

This scholar said that this is becoming tiresome because the Khmer coalition groups are dreamers. For example, Sihanouk's son talks on and on about the past greatness of his father. Son Sann's son is an "artist." He talks about the problems in Cambodia with great "imagination." Little of what he says has anything to do with the reality of the situation there. The Khmer Rouge are very tough. They are like a conceited person who is among his followers.

The Son Sann group has proposed that a "third hand" try to help solve the problems in Cambodia. But that is not a new idea. That is an old idea from the time of the Vietnam War, and it failed then. Those who are considering this are just deluding themselves.

In short, observers feel that the CGDK meeting was meaningless. If the coalition groups continue to live in this dream world, there is no way that they can win or achieve their objectives. Cambodia will be swallowed up by the Vietnamese.

I listened to what was said and grew tired, too. I am tired of our minister of foreign affairs, who likes to dream and delude himself.

## Editorial Views Khmer Rouge, CGDK Problems

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 27 Jul 87 p 8

[Editorial: "Solving the Cambodian Problem"]

[Text] Today, several very interesting movements can be seen. It seems as if the conflicts over Cambodia are on the verge of being settled.

Dr Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, the Indonesian minister of foreign affairs, is making his first trip to Hanoi in 2 years. He is serving as ASEAN's representative in holding negotiations on the Cambodian issue. This represents new movement after a long period of inaction on the diplomatic front. The people whom ASEAN has appointed peace envoys to solve the Cambodian problem have not had a chance to meet with the leaders in Hanoi.

Something worth thinking about is that this visit to Hanoi by the Indonesian foreign minister was arranged following his visit to Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea. He went there to negotiate with Prince Sihanouk, who had announced his resignation as president of the CGDK, which is fighting the Vietnamese-backed government in Phnom Penh. Even though the details of these negotiations have not been made public, Dr Mochtar may be carrying a message for the leaders in Hanoi.

Prince Sihanouk said that he was resigning as president of the CGDK because of the serious conflicts among the groups in the coalition. He charged that the faction causing the trouble is the Khmer Rouge of Pol Pot, who is now staying in the background and allowing Mr Khieu Samphan to handle things. This shows that the CGDK is experiencing internal problems because of the Khmer Rouge.

At the same time, Hanoi's most recent attitude seems to be in harmony with this step taken by Prince Sihanouk. That is, regardless of whether or not Vietnam is coming under heavy pressure from the Soviet Union, its only important ally, to solve the Cambodian problem politically, Vietnam has stated that it is ready to negotiate the formation of a unified government in Cambodia. However, it will not allow members of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge to join this government.

Actually, the coalition group's ability to resist Vietnam in Cambodia stems mainly from the strength of the Khmer Rouge rather than the actions of Prince Sihanouk's group or Son Sann's KPNLF. The security of the CGDK depends mainly on the Khmer Rouge. It is this that has generated a willingness on the part of the coalition and ASEAN, which supports this group, to meet Vietnam halfway in order to bring about an armistice in Cambodia and end the great turmoil in this country.

It will probably be very difficult to achieve results in solving the Cambodian problem peacefully as long as the factions that oppose Vietnam remain incapable of developing themselves and becoming as strong as the Khmer Rouge. And if the Khmer Rouge is allowed to participate in the negotiations, problems will arise again. That is, in forming a new government in Phnom Penh, there might be a repeat of what happened in the past when the Khmer Rouge almost

succeeded in committing genocide against the Cambodian people. Because no one knows for sure whether the Khmer Rouge has really had a change of heart and if so, to what degree.

#### Lack of CGDK Military Success, Bitterness at DK

Bangkok SIAM RAT SAPDA WICHAN in Thai 2-8 Aug 87 pp 25, 26

[Unattributed report: "International Conference on the Cambodian Issue Held Just in Order To Remind People"]

[Excerpts] Those attending the international conference on the Cambodian problem again reviewed the chances of ending the conflict in this country. This conference was held on 25 and 26 July in the conference room of the Mandarin Hotel in Bangkok. The conference was attended by approximately 300 people from 31 countries.

At this conference, in his capacity as the chairman of the meeting, Police Maj Gen Chana Samutrawanit, the former Thai ambassador to Phnom Penh, stated that the reasons for holding this meeting were:

1. To show support for the Khmer coalition.
2. To inform the Vietnamese people and government of people's opposition to the invasion of Cambodia by Vietnamese troops.
3. To inform the people of the world about the problems and suffering of the Cambodian people.
4. To urge the people of the world and those concerned to help find a suitable solution to this problem.

Each faction in the Khmer coalition, which is officially called the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, sent a representative to the meeting. The Sihanouk faction sent Prince Norodom Ranaridh. (In May, Prince Norodom Sihanouk took a 1-year leave of absence as president of the CGDK in order to protest the fact that Khmer Rouge forces have been killing Khmer Serei forces loyal to Prince Sihanouk.) The Khmer Serei faction of Mr Son Sann sent Mr Son Soubert, the son of Mr Son Sann. The Khmer Rouge sent Mr Khieu Samphan, the vice president of the CGDK.

Based on the statements made by these three men, the position of each faction is quite clear:

Prince Norodom Ranaridh said that his father ordered him to come and express support for the peace proposals. He stressed that he would like to sign a treaty of nonaggression with Vietnam if a new government is formed with the support of all factions.



Mr Son Soubert said that it is unlikely that there will be peace in Cambodia anytime soon, because this country is still under the influence of Vietnam and the Soviet Union. Hopes for this must be placed in future generations. This was very discouraging to hear.

Mr Khieu Samphan stressed the position of the Khmer Rouge. The Khmer Rouge wants to establish a Democratic Liberation Government in Cambodia. This government would have a broad base and would include noncommunist groups. "The Khmer Rouge has no desire to seize power and rule the country by itself."

It is worth noting that not one of these representatives said anything about military successes. They talked mostly about political matters and each faction's attitude concerning solving the problems.

Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila, the Thai minister of foreign affairs, was one person who said that the Soviet Union has recently taken a very positive stance on the Cambodian issue.

Even though Mr Khieu Samphan said that the Soviet attitude is just a trick, Air Chief Marshal Sitthi said that the statement issued by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, the general-secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at Vladivostok in February 1986 and the many calls by Soviet officials to hold negotiations to solve the Cambodian problem should have a positive effect. Because prior to this, Moscow never said anything about this. This is very unusual.

Air Chief Marshal Sitthi also referred to the fact that Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, the Soviet minister of foreign affairs, visited various Southeast Asian countries last March. This was one of the first indications that the Soviet Union is interested in discussing the Cambodian problem.

"As a result of this new attitude on the part of the Soviet Union, I visited Moscow in May. I found that Mr Shevardnadze is very interested in resolving this matter," said Air Chief Marshal Sitthi at this international conference. But he did not say anything more about this.

This report on this conference would not be complete without mentioning the unexpected protest against the Khmer Rouge that occurred on the first day of the conference. This occurred while Mr Khieu Samphan was making his speech. This stunned those at the meeting. Miss Wanna Satrinkhoe, a Cambodian who said that she was a member of the Khmer Serei and the Allies of Victory (based in Paris), stood up and angrily condemned the Khmer Rouge. She said that Mr Khieu Samphan was a murderer and liar. She said, "How could I not be angry! The Khmer Rouge killed more than 70 of my relatives and friends."

This shows that people still hate the Khmer Rouge and that it will not be easy to end this hatred even though the Khmer Rouge has tried to remove the name of Mr Pol Pot, the original leader, from its roster. This is because he was one of the main culprits who ordered the killing of huge numbers of Cambodians in order to build a new nation.

To summarize what took place at this international conference on the Cambodian problem, it can be said that the purpose of the conference was to remind the world that Vietnam still occupies Cambodia and that no serious attempt has been made to solve this problem.

#### Academic Posits Dropping "Unacceptable KR"

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 7 Aug 87 p 7

[Article by Thira Nutpam, Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University: "The Way To Solve the Cambodian Problem"]

[Excerpts] The Cambodian problem, a chronic problem that has existed for almost a decade now, seems to be improving. This evaluation is based on the political and diplomatic activities that have been carried on during the past year and on the combat situation between the Vietnamese-Heng Samrin forces and the opposition forces, that is, the patriotic groups that have joined together to form the Khmer coalition government, which is headed by Prince Sihanouk.

Vietnam has announced that it will withdraw its troops from Cambodia in 1990. And there was important diplomatic activity in July 1986. That is, in a speech given at Vladivostok, Mr Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, expressed interest in holding discussions to solve the Cambodian problem. These activities on the part of the Soviet Union and Vietnam are very interesting. What does this side think about this problem, and will it finally be possible to reach an agreement to end this long conflict?

To justify its invasion and occupation of Cambodia, Vietnam cited the threat from China and the Khmer Rouge. Even today, one of Vietnam's conditions for withdrawing its forces from Cambodia is the destruction of the Khmer Rouge and the recognition of the Heng Samrin administration, which Vietnam set up after invading Cambodia.

With respect to Vietnam's announcement that it will withdraw its forces from Cambodia in 1990, besides the possibility that this is just a propaganda ploy aimed at reducing the diplomatic pressure on Vietnam, there are two other things that need to be considered. First, it's possible that Vietnam is on the verge of achieving its objective in eliminating the opposition and making things secure for the Heng Samrin administration, which is under Vietnam's influence. Second, Vietnam may have reached the point where it can no longer bear the economic, political, or military burden of occupying Cambodia. Thus, it must withdraw its forces regardless of whether or not it has achieved its objectives.

As for the first point, will it be possible for Vietnam to destroy the opposition in the next 2-3 years? It is estimated that Vietnam now has at least 140,000 troops in Cambodia. Even though there have been many reports stating that Vietnam has scored military victories, such as destroying enemy bases along the Thai-Cambodian border, this does not mean that they will be able to destroy the opposition, which is now conducting operations deep inside Cambodia, in a short period of time.

China is focusing its attention on national development and modernization. Because of this, the leaders in Beijing want peace in this region so that they can concentrate their efforts on developing China.

As for the second point, China's attitude toward the Khmer Rouge has changed greatly. Beijing knows that using the Khmer Rouge as a tool or proxy to expand Chinese power and influence will create problems not only with Vietnam but with ASEAN as well. China, which holds to an "open door" policy and which wants to have contacts with the outside world, particularly the West and Japan, in order to develop the country, definitely doesn't want to tarnish its image that way.

If we accept the fact that China no longer poses a threat to Vietnam, either directly or through the Khmer Rouge, there is no reason for Hanoi to insist that the Khmer Rouge must be destroyed. Today, the ball is in Vietnam's court. It is up to Vietnam to decide whether to solve the Cambodian problem quickly. That is, even though the Soviet Union is supporting Hanoi in its occupation of Cambodia, Moscow has only expressed an "interest" in reaching a negotiated settlement. It is not prepared to pressure Vietnam into reaching an agreement as called for by ASEAN. It would be very interesting to know what Vietnam's leaders are thinking right now.

It's possible that Vietnam's present attitude, particularly its obstinancy about the conditions concerning the Khmer Rouge, is aimed at destroying the coalition government. That is, it's possible that some ASEAN countries that feel that the Cambodian conflict has gone on too long and that want to solve this problem as quickly as possible will join together with the noncommunist members of the Khmer coalition, which do not get along with the Khmer Rouge, to exert pressure to "sell out" the Khmer Rouge. This is a strong possibility. If we remember that the Khmer Rouge has never been accepted by the international community, cutting out the Khmer Rouge in order to hold negotiations with Vietnam should not pose a problem. (Does Prince Sihanouk's charge that the Khmer Rouge has attacked his forces have anything to do with this?)

Everything that has been said here is just a guess based on certain factors. Only time will tell how the Cambodian problem will finally be solved. At the end of July, there were signs that Vietnam's attitude was softening. That is, following the recent meeting in Hanoi between Mr Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, the Indonesian minister of foreign affairs, and Mr Nguyen Co Thach, the Vietnamese deputy premier and foreign affairs minister, Vietnam issued a statement to the mass media stating that the "two sides reached an understanding that unofficial talks between the two sides in Cambodia will be held on a basis of equality and without any preconditions." (MATICHON 31 July 1987)

Such activities are very interesting. And regardless of whether or not any progress is made, the thing that should be remembered is that it will be very difficult to restore peace and harmony in Cambodia if an agreement is reached without the participation of the Khmer Rouge. Regardless of how evil the Khmer Rouge is in the eyes of the people of the world, the Khmer Rouge has enough armed troops to cause trouble for any administrative system that is formed without its participation.

It is not easy to eliminate such a large number of armed forces given the terrain that exists in Cambodia. Otherwise, Vietnam would have succeeded in destroying the Khmer Rouge, which is the main group opposing the Vietnam-Heng Samrin faction, a long time ago.

#### Columnist Distrusts Sihanouk, Cites CGDK Weaknesses

Bangkok BAN MUANG in Thai 8 Jul 87 p 5

[Ta Mo Lo column: "The War in Cambodia Continues"]

[Excerpts] Today, I would like to talk about Cambodia. Princess Monique is the wife of Prince Sihanouk, the president of the CGDK, which opposes the Vietnamese-backed Heng Samrin faction in Phnom Penh.

Actually, it was Thailand that set up Sihanouk. This is nothing is to surprised about, because Thailand has put many Cambodian kings on the throne. Prince Sihanouk has now taken a 1-year leave of absence as president of the CGDK to protest the actions of Khieu Samphan's Khmer Rouge. He charged that Khmer Rouge forces attacked the forces of Prince Ranaridh, his son, on 26 April 1987. Prince Sihanouk said that he is too far away and so he sent his wife, Princess Monique, to visit Thailand and the Cambodian refugees along the border. She also met Khieu Samphan in Cambodia.

She received a warm welcome at the refugee camp. Perhaps this is because she is not engaged in a feud with anyone. She is very gentle and much more credible than her husband. Recently, Prince Sihanouk has not been very credible. He is too glib and comes across as insincere. The appearance of Princess Monique in place of Prince Sihanouk shows that something is wrong.

Reports have stated that relations between Prince Sihanouk's forces and Heng Samrin's forces are very good. They have dealings with each other on an unofficial basis and do not attack each other. Prince Sihanouk's forces, which are commanded by Prince Ranaridh, attack only Vietnam's troops. And Heng Samrin's forces show Sihanouk's forces how to gain the advantage over the Vietnamese troops. This is not totally believable.

All Cambodian soldiers are tired of fighting. They don't know why they are fighting. There is no chance that Prince Sihanouk will secretly become the ally of Heng Samrin as long as Vietnamese troops are still in Cambodia. But they can be friends, even on the battlefield. Because Prince Sihanouk's anger is directed at the Khmer Rouge, not the Heng Samrin faction.

This is a trick of Prince Sihanouk. He wants to "bluff" the Khmer Rouge, or Khieu Samphan faction. Sihanouk harbors great resentment against the Khmer Rouge. Vietnam will definitely not withdraw its forces from Cambodia, and no one can force Vietnam to change its mind.

Vietnam will continue to harass Thailand and try to induce us to attack Vietnamese forces in Cambodia. That would give Vietnam an excuse to occupy Cambodia permanently. Thus, Thailand and Vietnam will continue to engage in



clashes for a long time to come. Thailand must be very careful and not play their game. We must remain calm and not rush into things. This is a long-term campaign. We must conserve our strength, because we still have a long way to go. Even if Vietnam withdraws its forces, there will still not be peace. Khieu Samphan, Prince Sihanouk, Son Sann, and Heng Samrin will still be at war with each other. Not one of them can unite Cambodia. The United Nations cannot stop the war in Cambodia. There will come a time when Thailand and Vietnam will have cooperate in setting up a leader in Cambodia as was done in the past. Perhaps it will be Princess Monique. Who knows?

#### Cultural Exchange Sought with PRK

Bangkok SU ANAKHOT in Thai 2-8 Aug 87 p 39

[Article by Sathan Phairo: "A Gift from Cambodia"]

[Excerpt] Recently, I had a chance to visit Cambodia in order to arrange a cultural exchange. I went there to coordinate things concerning a movie, The Asian Universe, for which I was responsible. I achieved even more than I had hoped. I plan to go again in December to film the movie.

I do not know very much about Cambodian art and culture. But I do know how to make movies and take pictures. That is why I have so many pictures to show. These pictures show Cambodian drama students practicing. I was told that many of the students here were orphaned during the Pol Pot years. Many people who think that there is now a cultural vacuum in Cambodia will probably have to change their views when they see these pictures. And based on what I saw, as compared with the theatrical troupes that have fled to the border or to the United States, it must be admitted that those now training in Phnom Penh are "very beautiful." I hope that someday there can be a cultural exchange, or that there will be a chance for us to go attend performances in Phnom Penh.

The prettiest girl in these pictures once went to India with a visiting theatrical troupe.

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DAILY LABELS PREM DO-NOTHING, IGNORANT

42070282b Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 6 Aug 87 p 8

[Editorial: "The Endurance of the Prime Minister"]

[Excerpt] Gen Prem Tinsulanon has been prime minister for almost 8 years now. As for how he has governed the country and what he has done to benefit the people during his tenure as prime minister, there is no need for us to review this here.

It's true that those who have served as prime minister, which makes them the head of the government, have all had good intentions toward the country and wanted to govern the country effectively and bring prosperity and happiness to the people.

But looking at the methods used by each administration to govern the country since 1980, which was the year that Gen Prem first became prime minister, it can be seen that the government headed by Gen Prem has failed to keep up with the situation. It can almost be said that there are no policies that will enable the people to benefit from the government's administration. Furthermore, according to statistics, the number of people who are suffering is greater than the number who are prospering.

One good point about Gen Prem is that he is an honest man. He has received much praise for this. We do not deny this. But the leader of the government is so honest that he doesn't know what honesty is and has allowed corruption to thrive because he doesn't know anything about such matters. We don't think that this is very good.

We don't know how much longer Gen Prem will continue serving as prime minister. But we believe that he will probably remain in office for a long time to come. We feel that he has shown great endurance given the fact that the people are fed up with and tired of him. But whether or not this is fitting for a national leader is something that is worth thinking about.

11943

## THAILAND

### ADVISER TO FOREIGN MINISTER PROFILED

42070259b Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 6 Jul 87 p 5

[DAILY NEWS Square column by Nanthana: "Advisor to Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila Is a Vice Rector"]

[Excerpt] In the recent appointment of a new executive committee for Ramkhamhaeng University, Associate Professor Charin Thanirat, who had served as vice rector 6 years ago, was again appointed vice rector. He also serves as an advisor to Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila, the former deputy prime minister who is now serving as minister of foreign affairs.

Associate Professor Charin Thanirat was born on 6 September 1935 in Nakhon Sithammarat Province. He is the fifth child of Mr Sang and Mrs Phrom Thanirat. He attended the Khanthamali School in Ron Phibun District and the Sithammarat and Benohamarachuthit schools. He then went to Bangkok, where he attended the Ban Sornet Chaophraya Teachers School on a scholarship from Nakhon Sithammarat. He earned a diploma in physical education from the Physical Education College and a bachelor's degree from the Prasanmit Physical Education College. He was then granted a scholarship by the Asia Foundation, which he used to earn a master's degree in education and a certificate in Youth Development from the University of Hawaii. He attended seminars and observed activities on physical education and recreational activities in Europe, the United States, and Australia.

He began his professional career as an instructor with the Physical Education College, Department of Physical Education, Ministry of Education. He served as the assistant director of the Physical Education Teachers School, Department of Physical Education, and as a special instructor in the Faculty of Education, Chulalongkorn University, and the Faculty of Public Health, Mahidol University. He was transferred to the Faculty of Education at Ramkhamhaeng in 1971 when the university was established. He served as the faculty secretary, the head of the physical education section, the principal of the Ramkhamhaeng University Demonstration School, the assistant dean of the Faculty of Education, and the head of university public relations. He was one of the founders and served three terms as chairman of the executive committee of the University Games of Thailand. He served as the vice president of the Education Association of Thailand. He helped found the Physical Education and Recreation Association of Thailand. He served as the Southeast Asian regional

coordinator for the World University Games for 1 year. He twice served as head of the Committee for the Exchange of Sports Culture with the Soviet Union. He has served as Thailand's representative to international conferences on physical education and sports, particularly mass sports. He has worked to popularize this idea in Thailand. He served previously as the vice rector of Ramkhamhaeng University. He is now the vice rector for welfare and special programs. He has served as an advisor to Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila ever since ACM Sitthi was the deputy prime minister.

His work in the fields of recreation and physical education has been outstanding and so in 1986 the Physical and Health Education and Recreation Association of Thailand awarded him its Outstanding Person award.

Associate Professor Charin is married to Sopha Chintham. They have two children, Chakraphong and Sorin. The eldest is a freshman in the Faculty of Economics, Chulalongkorn University. The youngest attends the Bodin Decha School.

One of the ideals of Associate Professor Charin is to "carry out the tasks assigned as well as possible. If we listen to the ideas of our colleagues and apply them in carrying out our tasks, there will be good cooperation and work efficiency will improve."

11943

## THAILAND

### QUESTIONS RAISED OVER MONARCHY ROLE AFTER CHARTER CHANGE

#2070282a Bangkok SU ANAKHOT in Thai 22-28 Jul 87 p 5

[SU ANAKHOT Remarks column: "Oppose Movement To Revise Constitution, Oppose Those Who Are Disloyal"]

[Excerpt] The most recent movement to shake the position of Gen Prem is the movement by groups that support Gen Prem to revise the constitution in order to have an elected prime minister. Staunch opponents of Gen Prem, such as MR [royal title--FBIS] Khukrit Pramot, are asking, Where will this leave the monarchy? Because normally, it is the king who appoints the prime minister. In an article that appeared in the 13 July edition of SIAM RAT, Dr Kasem Sirisamphan, who is close to MR Khukrit, wrote that the movement to revise the constitution in order to separate executive and legislative powers will lead to a call for a direct national election of the prime minister. Do we really want the Thai prime minister to have powers like those of the American president?

"The question that must be asked is, if we do implement such a system, will we still have a democracy with the king at the head? If this is the type of system that they want, why do they keep talking about how loyal they are?"

Has Gen Prem's position been transformed from that of a person who is loyal to the monarchy to one who is disloyal?

Analysts are dumbfounded by this political game, which is becoming more and more serious and risky, especially in view of the talk about loyalty to the monarchy. Many people think that if an attempt is made to revise the constitution, there will be strong opposition and the attempt will fail once again.

11943

## THAILAND

### PROMOTION OF QUEEN, PRINCE TO GENERAL RANK DISCUSSED

42070256b Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 23 Jul 87 pp 30, 31

[Unattributed report: "Queen and Crown Prince Promoted to Rank of Major General"]

[Text] Two months ago, the army announced the formation of a new unit directly subordinate to the army, the Mahat Lek Ratcha Wanlop King's Guard Regiment. This regiment is composed of two battalions. Thus, this regiment is no longer subordinate to the 1st King's Guard Division and is now an independent unit. It is time to expand this unit to enable it to fulfill its heavy responsibilities. The regiment is commanded by the Crown Prince, who holds the rank of special colonel.

#### Expanding the Unit

If this regiment were still subordinate to the 1st King's Guard Division, it would be difficult to expand the unit to enable it to fulfill its heavy responsibilities. Thus, it was decided to turn this regiment, which is commanded by the Crown Prince, into a unit directly subordinate to the army. Its chain of command no longer passes through the 1st King's Guard Division or 1st Army Region. It will be easier to expand the unit. The army has plans to upgrade this unit to a division with a form similar to that of an English King's Guard unit. Besides being responsible for protecting the king, it will also be an important combat unit. That is, it will be designed to specialize in "urban combat." The men in this unit must be highly skilled and resourceful soldiers. The unit will be composed of two regiments. One regiment will be responsible for protecting the king. The other will focus on serving as a special combat unit.

#### Begin To Assign Forces

Steps have already been taken to change the structure of the Mahat Lek Regiment, and the selection of officers to serve as battalion commanders and deputy commanders has begun. A news report stated that the Crown Prince, the commander of the unit, is selecting these officers himself. He has stipulated various qualifications for officers assigned to this unit. The army is taking action. In particular, it is now selecting paratroop officers from the Special Warfare Command for assignment to this unit. The Crown Prince is a



"paratrooper" and serves as the special commander of the 1st Special Forces Regiment at the Wachiralongkon Camp, or "Pa Wai Paratroopers."

#### Rank of Major General

Since the beginning of the year, there have been reports that once the Mahat Lek Regiment has been made directly subordinate to the army and expanded into two regiments or a division--it has not yet been decided whether this will be called a division or a center--the Crown Prince will be promoted in accord with military regulations. That is, the commander of this unit will have to be a major general. Thus, the Crown Prince will be promoted to this rank. "As for receiving a promotion in accord with this military regulation, the Crown Prince hopes to be promoted based on his actual military duties," said our news source concerning the promotion of the Crown Prince to the rank of major general.

#### The Queen

There have also been reports that the army is preparing to give a promotion to the queen, who holds the rank of special colonel. She will be the first female in the Thai military to hold the rank of major general.

The queen serves as the special commander of the 21st Queen's Guard Infantry Regiment, which is based at the Nawamin Tharachini Camp in Chonburi Province. The regiment is commanded by Special Colonel Niphon Pharannit. The soldiers in this regiment are known as the "Queen's Tigers." This unit is subordinate to the 2d Infantry Division, 1st Army Region.

"On the occasion of the King's 60th birthday, the army will promote the queen to the rank of major general. She will be the first female major general in the Thai military. She has shown great generosity toward the military. She has given much help to and shown great concern for the Queen's Tigers unit, of which she is the special commander. In this unit, she has carried on activities as part of the occupational arts program and performed many other acts of compassion. She is the helpmate of the king," said a senior officer.

11943

## THAILAND

### WIRA MUSIKAPHONG DESCRIBES DP INSURGENT GROUP ORIGINS

42070282d Bangkok MATICHON SUT SAPDA in Thai 26 Jul 87 pp 10, 11

[Article by Wira Musikaphong: "The Origin of the '10 January Group'"]

[Text] When certain MPs and members of the executive committee of the Democrat Party saw that the efforts to reach an understanding had reached a deadend and that there was no way to get the party leader to reconsider his position, they realized that the only option left to real Democrats was to hold a national-level meeting in order to let the members of the party decide the issue.

Thus, it would be necessary to hold an extraordinary meeting. Those attending this meeting would include the members of the party executive committee, MPs, and the heads of the legally-registered party branches from throughout the country.

Whenever such a meeting is held, people always rush here and there trying to secure votes. Thus, at the end of 1986, the newspapers printed stories about party branches in this and that region holding meetings. The party leader and his faction, which is the faction that holds positions in the government, held meetings, and so did the Chaloephan-Wira faction, which the press referred to as Group 42. This is not unusual for political parties in a democracy. But even though those who were in the government understood democracy and the political party system, their hearts were probably pounding. Because a conflict within a party is a minor war within the government.

But here, I would like to note that even when we engage in disputes, this does not affect our personal relations with each other. In particular, within the Democrat Party, the fact that we have traveled the same path and worked together for so long means that we could not "kill or betray one another." Or as soldiers say, we have "eaten from the same pot."

Thus, instead of splitting apart at the end of 1986, based on the power granted to members by party regulations concerning calling an extraordinary meeting in order to consider the position of the party leader, the members of both factions agreed to meet each other half way. That is, they agreed to postpone the meeting. Instead of holding an extraordinary meeting at the end of 1986, they agreed to postpone this to the 1987 general meeting.

Besides the fact that no one wanted to engage in an exhausting fight, an important reason for this decision was that the structure of the party executive organization still had many weaknesses, and some of the problems stemmed from the fact that the structure was loose and out of date. Thus, when the meeting was held, the party regulations had to be revised, and a new administrative structure had to be devised.

A seven-man work committee composed of people from both factions was formed to draw up a set of draft regulations. I was one of those on this committee. The draft was to be completed and submitted to the executive committee. If the executive committee approved the draft, it was to be submitted to party members nationwide for consideration. The final decision was to be made at the general meeting. This was fine. The annual general meeting was scheduled for 10 January 1987. This is the origin of the 10 January Group.

Readers probably know that at this meeting, members from throughout the country approved the revised regulations. As a result, the Democrat Party now has a 45-man executive committee and a 15-man standing committee chosen from the 45 people on the executive committee.

The 15-man standing committee actually runs the party. The 45-man executive committee is responsible for major policies. The members of the 15-man standing committee cannot serve concurrently as ministers. The only exceptions are the party leader and party secretary general.

The purpose of this is to enable a political party to control the government and parliament if it holds a majority of the seats. It should not be the government that controls the parties. And MPs should not control the party, which is what happened in the past and which is still prevalent today. After the general meeting approved these regulations, it was necessary to elect a new executive committee.

Here, I want to clarify another point. That is, after the 60 MPs failed to get the party leader to reconsider his position, some MPs gave up and withdrew from the group. Later on, when the general meeting was held in order to change the executive committee, those remaining had to hold a meeting in order to choose a new party leader to compete against the present party leader.

What should be understood is that even though Mr Chaloeaphan Sivikon, an MP from Bangkok Metropolitan and the deputy party leader at that time, was a key figure among those who opposed Mr Phichai Rattakun, he did not consider running for party leader himself. Mr Chaloeaphan frequently said that if Mr Phichai had to give up his position, the person who should succeed him as party leader should be either Mr Marut Bunnak or Mr Chuan Likphai. And actually, most members agreed with him. For this reason, both these men were approached about this. But both Mr Marut and Mr Chuan refused, citing personal reasons.

Because these two important figures who were considered best suited to becoming party leader could not accept this position, the group turned to Mr Chaloeaphan. What is certain is that at that point, if we had not been able to

move forward, there would have been no hope. But Mr Chaloephan agreed to run for the position of party leader. At that time, I was still the party secretary general. Several MPs who were neutral asked that the contest be limited to the position of party leader and that I remain as party secretary general. Even though I had great respect for the opinion of these people, I had to refuse. I announced that if Mr Chaloephan was prepared to run for the position of party leader, I was prepared to stand side by side with him and run for party secretary general. If we lost, we would lose together. If we won, we would manage the party together. But both of us lost. Actually, readers already know this. Both of us lost the election held on 10 January 1987.

We were not the only two affected. Important figures whom I consider to be knowledgeable and talented people with the political experience and seniority to lead the party forward, such as Decho Swananon, Thawin Phraison, Phraphan Phalusuk, Khunthong Phuphiuduan, Khaisaeng Suksai, and even Anan Chaisaeng, were blocked. All of us are now just ordinary party members.

The party leader, Mr Phichai Rattakun, probably thinks that to maintain control over the party, it is necessary to have an executive committee whose ideas are in line with his. That is how the election turned out.

Now that things have turned out this way, the question is, what should my group do? Several people have said that the faction that failed to join the executive committee, or put differently, the group that voted for Mr Chaloephan Siwikon, is large enough to form a new party. Several people have said that if this group of more than 40 MPs remains united, it can play a greater role in parliament than any of the present opposition political parties.

But regardless of what people have said, the people referred to have held a meeting and passed a resolution stating that there is no reason for us to leave the party. All of us are still members of the Democrat Party, which is a member of the government. However, we will preserve our group. We have renamed it in order to facilitate reference and to preserve the memory of what happened during the election. We call ourselves the 10 January Group.

There have been several political groups within the Democrat Party. This includes the Prachathipat Samphan Group, the Democrat Youth Group, and the Bangkok Metropolitan and Zonal MPs Group. These groups have long enjoyed de facto recognition. The recently revised regulations state that these groups are to receive legal recognition.

As long as the activities of these groups are carried on within the scope of the regulations, policies, and ideals of the Democrat Party, these groups are fully entitled to carry on such activities. The only thing is that most members of the 10 January Group are MPs, and they are very knowledgeable and

capable people. For this reason, the 10 January Group has caused political tremors even though that has not been our intention.

In a future issue, I will tell you about the role of the 10 January Group and conclude by discussing the matter of a cabinet reshuffle, in which everyone is interested.

11943



DEMOCRAT INSURGENTS COMMENT ON POLICY, PARTY OPTIONS

42070257 Bangkok KHAO PHISET in Thai 22-28 Jul 87 pp 18-26

[Unattributed report: "Special Discussion with Democrat Young Turks: Withdraw From the Government for the Survival of the Party"]

[Text] On 15 July the Editor's Office of KHAO PHISET held a political discussion on the conflicts within the Democrat Party and solutions to the problems. Attention was focused on lower-ranking party members, who are trying to get those involved in the dispute to reach a compromise or withdraw from the Prem 5 government. Those participating in the discussion included: 1. Sublieutenant Chalat Worachat, a former MP from Zone 3, Bangkok Metropolitan, and the president of the Democratic Ideals Group; 2. Chaturon Khotsi, an MP from Chumphon, who was not a member of this group on the day of the discussion but who became the "secretary of the Democratic ideals Group" 3 days after the discussion; 3. Sunai Chulaphongsathon, a lawyer and the president of the Pom Prap Zone Council; and 4. Thongdi Phringklang, the head of the Young Democrats, who was initially reported to be the secretary of the Democratic Ideals Group but who later encountered problems and had to resign. The following article is a verbatim transcription of excerpts of the discussion, which was recorded on tape.

KHAO PHISET: What is at the heart of the present conflict within the Democrat Party?

Chaturon: As for the problems within the Democrat Party, I feel that when talking about the Democrat Party, which is a member of the government coalition, we are actually talking about the elements of the Democrat Party that are now elements of the government. There are two sets of factors involved in the conflict. There are both internal and external factors that have generated conflicts with the Democrat Party.

As for the internal factors, I think that the Democrat Party needs to strengthen itself and clarify its ideals, objectives, strategy, and direction. These things must be clearly manifested in public understanding. They must be

accepted and imbedded in party members, particularly the MPs from various provinces and election zones. The party branches in each locality should work to clarify these things. This is the first thing that I consider to be a weakness. This must be improved. This is the No 1 internal problem.

The second point is that if our ideals, objectives, direction, and strategy, which will benefit the country and people, are not clear and party members and MPs do not hold to these, MPs who join the party will tend to work for their own personal interests. With respect to personal interests, I want to make it clear that this does not refer only to money and property. A person's reputation and position are both personal interests. If a person's reputation and position are at odds with the interests of the people, we feel that that person has struggled on behalf of his own personal interests.

Thus, as I said, the No 1 problem is that directions, ideals, and strategies are not clear. MPs and other important members of the party focus on personal interests. What is different from other parties is that members of the Democrat Party are not that concerned about money or property. Instead, they are much more concerned about reputation and position. I think that many members want fame and high position. This is the target of their struggle. Each person is struggling to reach his objective. Position is a matter of family honor. Gaining fame will help the individual gain the desired position. Some people try to conduct themselves in a very strict manner. If they were monks, they would observe the rules strictly. They want people to respect and trust them so that they can reach their objective. Some people are actually very different from the public image that they project. But they have to act like this in order to conceal certain things so that they can reach their goal. This is the second factor in the Democrat Party.

Another problem within the Democrat Party has been the matter of the southern faction, which has been a very unified faction. The members of this faction have felt free to say and do whatever they want like hoodlums. They have been acting like this for a long time, and representatives from other regions and groups in the Democrat Party have long been jealous of them. Thus, others in the party have tried to destroy the unity of the southern faction. This started before the election of a secretary general. The election of the secretary general is something that will help destroy the southern faction. This presents another problem. Now that the unity of the southern faction has been damaged as a result of unclear ideals, everyone is trying to gain a higher position and enhance his own reputation. It cannot be denied that the political path taken by the southern faction is one of warlords fighting each other for position. Now that they have taken this path and can't get along, they will fall by the wayside.

I think that this is what the conflict within the Democrat Party is all about. This is what is most clear. That is, it is the internal problems that I see.

KHAO PHISET: Will this conflict lead to development?

Chaturon: It's a personal matter. It's a matter of interests.

KHAO PHISIT: What are some of the external factors that are affecting the Democrat Party?

Chaturon: As for the external factors, if we look at the present government, the present constitution, and the governments of the past 7-10 years, it can be seen that the prime minister has never come from a political party or been a party leader. Has the party that has won the most votes ever gotten together with the parties that won fewer votes to form a government, with these other parties displaying a spirit of "you won the election and so you be prime minister and I will serve as deputy prime minister?" That has never happened. It can't happen. But why not? I think that we have to look at things in detail. But one thing that is clear is that the parties that win many seats soon split apart. The Social Action Party split apart last time. It is now a small party. The parties that have split apart have about 20-50 seats. Now the Democratic Party is the largest party. It, too, will split apart into several smaller parties. In the future, any party that grows big will split apart. This is because various factors have been implanted in all the parties. Why is this? If a political party is allowed to grow.... For example, if the Democrat Party, which now has 100 seats, is allowed to grow and it wins 250 seats the next time, it will be able to form a government on its own or in conjunction with just one smaller party. The party leader will be the prime minister. In this case, a neutral person will not have a chance to become prime minister. Thus, the party must split apart. It must split apart so that a neutral person can become prime minister. This neutral person, who represents some group or unregistered political party, will protect the interests of his group. This destroys democracy and the political parties.

This is "banzai democracy." Things have changed systematically. Heirs have always been appointed. They have to continue doing this. The Democrat Party is now splitting apart. In the future, parties that grow too large will split apart, too. I guarantee that. I will stake my life on it. Things will continue like this until the people become more politically aware and stand on their own feet politically. Once the people are sufficiently aware, they will be able to consider individuals. If the people stand on their own feet politically, are politically aware, and have a correct viewpoint, they will elect qualified people to parliament. If they elect many good people, parliament will be composed of people with good political qualifications. These people will have a good political spirit, and they will realize whether it is better to have the leader of a political party or an outsider become prime minister and whether we should follow the path of democracy or dictatorship and those who want to destroy democracy.

Chalat: I think that the external and internal factors mentioned by Mr Chaturon are just part of the issue. Actually, the reason why the Democrat Party has split apart is that it is very difficult to find politicians with strong ideals even though the Democrat Party is not like other parties. It is different from the Social Action Party and the Thai Nation Party. Stated a little more gently, the Democrat Party has both politicians who have ideals and politicians who don't have any ideals. The question is, which type is in the majority?

I can assure you that ever since the Democrat Party was established, it has never split apart. If people can't get along, the minority have to leave. If people leave and this is considered as splitting apart, then the communist party has split apart. But in the communist party, most of those with ideals have stayed. Just a minority have had to leave. But the present conflict does not concern the system of cooperation. The votes are about the same and so there must be a struggle. Those with ideals have to form a faction. Various factions have arisen and so things seem to be in turmoil. We had hoped to establish this group. Actually, during the time that I was an MP, if we had seized the opportunity at that time.... I once talked with senior people about establishing a group with ideals or a neutral group. I discussed this with MPs. Some MPs wanted me to serve as the activist. But I said that I didn't want to do that. If something happened, people would accuse me of taking action against them. When the party joined the government, I clearly took the party's position. There was just one vote. If there had been 20 or 30, we could have formed the group. But the votes were lacking. Some MPs were too hasty. At that time, there was too much influence and people went along.

KHAO PHASET: But there are 20-30 people who are willing to remain neutral.

Chalat: That's right.

Sunai: Things would be fine if Chalot was an MP.

Chalat: I want to say a few things about a group that is not composed of MPs. I was surprised that they said that we have divided into three groups. It's as if we had formed just small groups. But the image is of a major group. It's like comments by columnists, who have different ideas and say that we are a third group. But that is not true. We are not in an MP organization. At the time that I had an MP organization, it would have been correct to call us a third group. That is, we had divided into three groups. But that concerns the organizations of MPs who are active. But this group has the nature of a Young Democrats group. This is clearly discussed in the regulations. The leader must issue a clear statement. There is nothing wrong with establishing this group. I submitted a letter to the leader informing him about this.

As for the group's policy and what it hopes to accomplish, we do not have an executive committee. We will just have a coordinating committee for lower-level members. We will be involved with lower-level groups. We will learn about the party's lower-level groups. Actually, we can't say that there are 300,000 members nationwide. Because if there are really that many, the party could not violate its ideals. It must be admitted that the people who have joined the various parties all have similar viewpoints and share similar ideals. These are like mass ideals. They are like a group. When they become MPs, they think that they own the party. Those who are not MPs are viewed as meaningless. They are viewed as tools. When they run for parliament, the younger members work hard for them. They are usually regarded as insignificant. But for the moment, they regard them as important, because they need a base. But after that, they disregard them. They don't build people. They don't let any of these people serve as secretary or give them a political role.



Besides this, other people who have been abandoned and whom we will work with are MPs who have failed to win reelection and who are now viewed as worthless. We will also coordinate things with several other groups of people in the party. We will hold meetings with each group. We will invite them to come discuss matter and ask for their ideas on what should be done. Even though we feel that the party should withdraw from the government coalition, we want to see what the others think about this.

Thus, the Democratic Ideals Group seeks to cooperate with others and create a force from the bottom as masters of the party. This is a pure bargaining force. The only interests involved are the interests of the party and people. We don't know whether we will succeed. But in the party's present situation, we have to do this. Party members must show their power and express their views. We can't allow the party to split apart without making an effort.

I must leave now, because I have to attend a meeting of the Administrative Affairs Subcommittee. Thank you.

KHAO PHISSET: Why did the members of the Zone 19 council, of which you are resident, choose this particular time to take action?

Sanai: I think that this stems from the fact that time has taught lower-level members a lot. There have been arguments for a year now. Those who have declined to reveal their ideas to senior people are very bored. I think that the time has come in this zone. As for whether action will be taken, I think that we must discuss things and reach an understanding among lower-level members. But I think that the time is ripe. There has been a clash, and ideas have been presented. Will it end here? If we cannot reach an agreement, I can't say where it will end. With respect to the feelings of the masses, as Mr Chalot said, the issue of ideals and the meetings and activities of the members from various branches are a reflection of the quantitative changes that have taken place in the party. This leads me to think that the building of idealists must proceed hand in hand with carrying on activities. This is what I think.

KHAO PHISSET: What form will the activities take after the formation of the Democratic Ideals Group?

Thongdi: There are two things that need to be said about this. We feel that if the present conflict is a matter of interests, we must solve the problem by coordinating interests using political principles. If the problems are judged to be legislative problems, we must rely on the rules and regulations. Can the Democrat Party's problems be solved in the present situation? We feel that as for carrying out things in order to coordinate interests, this is a basic principle of politicians. With respect to the problems that have arisen within the Democrat Party, all three people in the know agree that the problems stem from "interests." People may say this or that in order to keep up the front, but deep down, it is interests that are at stake. It can be seen that the seven-man work teams of the factions, which were established to carry on negotiations, have discussed only two points:



First, the party executive committee must be improved. Why? In order to share power between the two groups. At present, only one faction holds power. The party is administered by just one faction. The faction that does not have any control over the party is very concerned. Another problem is that people are worried about what will happen to them if the party does not allow them to run in the next election. This issue has been raised under the heading of what guarantees they will have in the next election. The factions must discuss sharing power and allowing everyone to participate in administering the party. This problem must be solved.

Second, the party's members on the cabinet must be reshuffled. One of the many demands made by the 10 January Group had to do with the fact that the allocation of ministerial portfolios was not fair. Of the many problems, this was the source of the problems concerning interests. Thus, if the problems stem from an unfair allocation of positions, the matter must be reviewed and positions must be allocated fairly. The issue of reshuffling the cabinet is an old issue. This was a problem even before 10 January. This is the real source of the problems of the Democrat Party. Recently, it has been clear that simply reshuffling the cabinet will not solve the problems. People also want to change the party executive committee. Why? To provide assurance to those who will run in the next election.

As for solving these problems, I have an opinion on the first point only. The second point concerns interests. Unless the various interests are coordinated, there will continue to be conflicts. One solution that I have thought about is to have the party withdraw from the government coalition and become an opposition party. If there is a reshuffle, some of those who do not now hold a position will be given a position, but some of those who now hold a position will lose their position. This will just replace one problem with another. Things will go on and on like this. But withdrawing from the coalition and becoming an opposition party will solve this problem. That is, there will no longer be any reason to bargain for positions. No one will have a position. The only position will be that of opposition party leader in accord with the constitution.

Thus, those who want a position won't get one. Those who presently have a position will lose their position. The value will drop to zero. I think that this would reduce the bickering. Something that I have thought about is whether the people in the Democrat Party are interested mainly in gaining state power or whether they want to struggle for the party's ideals and the party's old political position. I am unsure of the answer and wouldn't dare hazard a guess as to the position of the present members of the Democrat Party. Today's Democrat Party is composed of a very diverse group of people. There is more than just a diversity of interests and interest groups. There is also a great diversity of opinion. The international capitalists, internal monopoly capitalists, and influential capitalists in the localities all have different ideas. There are those such as Chaturon Khotsai, Khaisaeng Suksai, Chaturon Chaisaeng, and Karun Sai-ngam, who are at the opposite end of the pole from the capitalists. And then there are retired administrators and government officials who have jumped into politics. The Democrat Party has fielded these people as candidates. But these people cannot work together in

carrying on political activities. The Democrat Party has tried to use this diversity as part of its development strategy in order to build the party and turn it into a party with a parliamentary line. This is clear from the people chosen to run as candidates. But this diversity has led to problems.

Thus, it is only the younger people and politicians who understand how to develop party politics who want to have a mass party. The people with the power to determine the direction of the party are not interested in this. The term "mass party" is just a nice phrase to enhance the image of the party. They are not really sincere about building a mass party.

The failure of the attempt to establish a mass party is evident from the fact that 121 branches have been established. Are these just "bark" or are they really at the "core" of being a mass party? The truth is that fewer than 20 of these branches engage in political activities or understand the Democrat Party's philosophy of being a mass party. They do not understand that they are part of the mechanism to turn the Democrat Party into a mass party. The party branches have become tools of senior people in their effort to destroy each other politically. Thus, the present strategy of the Democrat Party is just a development strategy to keep the party in the parliamentary line.

KHAO PHISSET: As for parties in a parliamentary line, what do you think is good or bad about this?

Thongdi: This is good for the interest groups that are concerned about the immediate problems and for those who want to become ministers and MPs and take positions six or seven to one and who want to bargain to join the government. But in the long run, will the country benefit from this type of political party? The answer is no.

The Young Democrats support the mass party line and have constantly struggled against the parliamentary line. That is just a means for opportunists to grab what they can. The Democrat Party was established 41 years ago. During these 41 years, it has failed to produce professional politicians whose spirit and ideals are really in line with those of the party. It has failed to produce politicians who have moral principles and who want to serve the country. This has been 41 years of ups and downs depending on the support received from the administrative system and the military. Thus, there is really no difference between the Democrat Party and the Thai Nation and Social Action parties. The only difference is that the Democrat Party has 99 MPs, which is more than the other parties. The qualities that exist among the new MPs still provide some hope. People want to see what they can do. This is the problem.

At a time when party politics is in decline, I think that the people have lost all hope and faith in the democratic system. Thus, at present, there is no need to say anything more about the party system. In the present situation, people are embarrassed to talk about the Democrat Party and don't dare tell the people who they are or where they come from. Honor and dignity are different from before. The conflicts that have arisen have weakened the party's internal strength and greatly damaged its prestige. As for restoring

the honor or reputation of the party, a meeting was held on 14 July in order to decide the party's future. But in my view, we are at a dead end as far as solving the problems is concerned.

The younger, idealistic politicians who have joined the Democrat Party are our last hope for solving the problems. But I don't think these newer members, particularly the MPs, will be able to join forces to solve the problems within the party. Because they are subordinate to different factions. Those who don't belong to any faction are viewed as straddling the fence. The newcomers to the party system are in a weak position and so they are intimidated. They are told, "you must join this faction if you want to have any friends. Are you prepared to stand alone in the struggle for what is right?" This is the problem that arises.

I am also afraid that even if these younger members succeed in joining forces to solve the problems, it will be a long time before they are in a position to become party leaders or play a role in determining the direction of the party. If they do have a chance to administer the party, how much will they be able to do? Because what is very clear is that once they join the party, they are "swallowed up." They lose their independence of thought. This is very common politically. This is the problem confronting people in the party.

My ultimate concern is that in the present situation, the Democrat Party considers itself to be an organization in which the people have placed their hopes for solving the problems and raising the banner of democracy. But now, can they be sure that the Democrat Party is the political party that will raise the banner of democracy? The present situation may lead people to a conclusion similar to that just before the events of 6 October 1976. That is, they may think that politics and the system have failed. The Democrat Party has played a part in destroying democracy and destroying people's faith in the democratic system. This poses a great danger to national politics and administration. If it reaches the point where there is no Democrat Party but the country is democratic, I think that that is preferable to the fiasco of the present party system.

I have painted a rather dismal picture of the Democrat Party. But based on the problems that I have encountered and the environment in which I find myself today, I don't think that it has a solid core anymore. The political disputes, the problems concerning political ideals, and the lack of moral principles among the politicians are things that must be reviewed. I think that this is the most important thing. The party may hold 100 seats in parliament following the election. But if the politicians lack moral principles, if they are not qualified, and if they lack suitable ideas and proper ideals, it will not be possible to manifest the power of these 100 seats.

Thus, I don't think that there is anything that can be done except to take advantage of the opportunities and factors that arise. The people with power in the Democrat Party have said that the Democrat Party is a mass party. The organizations in the party must rise up. That is, we cannot allow these two people to destroy the country. The members must play a role in this mass party. What I am referring to is the situation within the 121 party branches



and the party activity groups and what the "SK-SK" think. They will realize that the problems that have arisen are weakening the party and destroying the people's faith in the party. And what is even worse is that this is destroying democracy. I think that these are the only people who can rise up and solve the problems.

KHAO PHISET: If they do rise up, what will they do? What concrete action will they take? Will the party withdraw from the government?

Thongdi: I think that the only solution now is to withdraw. But this must be done with the support of the entire party. It cannot be done by people from just one faction. And these must be people who are intent on preserving the party. These two factions may split apart and disappear. But the party must remain. If this is the general conclusion, we will have to withdraw. People can no longer feign ignorance. This is their party. Everyone from the party leader, party secretary general, and members of the party executive committee to the lowest party member has a share in and is part master of the party. Everyone has one share. No one has greater rights than anyone else. Thus, with respect to basic rights, it depends on whether these people will dare to step forward or whether they will continue to worry about their position and about being criticized and being viewed as stubborn children who are difficult to manage. If they think like this and submit, nothing will change. If the people who support the Democrat Party take action with the intention of preserving the party, coordinate things and work together closely, and participate in deciding the fate of the party, we will probably make greater headway in solving the problems than at present. What this means is that party members and party branches throughout the country and activity groups in the party, including the MPs who still have energy, must realize that the time has come to take action to save the party. I am sure that the 300-400,000 members of the Democrat Party will do what is in the party's best interests. They are not involved in the present dispute. They will make the right decision, and this decision will help to restore the party's honor in the present situation.

Sunai: Regarding what Mr Thongdi has said, he is a politician. We are both politicians and tend to think alike and so it is sometimes necessary to clarify things. There is something that concerns us today. This is the matter of interests. When we focus on interests, we lose sight of the heart of the matter, which is development. Those at a distance think that this is a matter of interests. It must be recognized that democracy is a matter of interests. Political systems concern interests. As Mr Chaturon said, it's not just a matter of property but of honor. We cannot build a party free of interests. That's impossible. Even if they claim that the party is going to be reborn and be totally pure and white, people should keep an eye on it.

It must be understood that there must be interests. That is common. This brings us to something that is of concern today. I hear people talking a lot about withdrawing or reshuffling the cabinet. Those not chosen to serve as ministers are unhappy. Another truth is that.... Conflicts are the truth, as the RTA CINC said. If the cabinet is reshuffled, those not appointed minister will be dissatisfied and conflicts will arise. Logically, this is correct. But as politicians we have to look more deeply. These conflicts and the loss of interests is one matter. Whether this causes turmoil is another matter.

If this is understood, it's relatively easy to decide that we need to withdraw. If the cabinet is reshuffled, the conflicts might ease and the temperature might decline. Or things could just get hotter depending on the situation in the party and on what the executive committee does. We have to understand that while the logic is correct, the reality may be different.

Second, we must distinguish between quantitative and qualitative changes and determine how much quantitative change has been made before implementing new qualitative formulas. I think that the student movement has learned a very painful lesson about what the quality of the forces must be before quality can be increased. I think that raising quality faster than numbers is dangerous. It goes beyond the masses. This is the point. With respect to quantity and quality, what quantitative changes must there be in order to have quality? One answer is that all basic factions of the party must rise up. If we don't look at the quality of the numbers, our decisions will be wrong.

KHAO PHISSET: Do you think that the party masses are ready in terms of quality and lines?

Sunai: Based on the surveys that have been conducted, I don't think that we have sufficient sources to determine the numbers. We have to admit that within the party, there are groups that are totally submissive to certain individuals for no real reason. For example, we once divided party members as follows: 20 percent to the left, 20 percent to the right, and 60 percent in the middle.

KHAO PHISSET: Then proposing that the party withdraw is moving ahead of the masses.

Sunai: This is a call to mobilize all the people to solve the problems. We must have a clear grasp of quantity and quality. I think that good politicians must have a correct grasp of the numbers. Perhaps I am a reformist. That is, we must attach importance to quantitative change. During this period, there must be quantitative changes. For example, if we say that the parliamentary way is a matter of interests and power and that the party branches are just tools, we would not be wrong in principle. But in terms of the development of the entire movement, that is not correct.

KHAO PHISSET: There are again conflicts within the Democrat Party. Do you view this as a stage of development?

Sunai: One point is that the lessons of the people are fragmentary.

KHAO PHISSET: Some people wonder why this stage is lasting so long and why the party doesn't advance to a new level of quality. Will this conflict lead to higher quality?

Sunai: I don't think that it's possible to determine how long this stage will last. But we can determine its scope. The stages in the various organizations will be different, right? But looking at the Democrat Party, I admit that the quantitative increase is low. Comparing the period of conflict with today, is there any difference in numbers? I think that there is. In the past, the



lower-level organizations had not implemented movements. Or even if they had, they were not prepared ideologically. Even today, it can be seen that when people go to see senior people, they address them as "sir." It's like temple boys going to see the patriarch. Take Thongdi, for example. He is paid by the party, right? Going to see the patriarch is not a minor matter. If we want to tell the patriarch to stop fighting because we are tired of this, we have to go in force. It's not that I have now joined the Democrat Party and I can't.... Actually, I have gathered numbers from political movements. In any case, I have submitted a letter to the "patriarch." Many people have asked me, "weren't you afraid?"

KHAO PHISSET: Even if we believe that the conflict within the Democrat Party will lead to a new quality, will this new quality arise in time before the party collapses and before people lose all hope in democracy?

Sunai: We can talk about that at some other time. But here, I would like to give an example. I think that the development of each country is different. The labor movement here actually began during the time of Field Marshal Phibunsongkhram. He allowed them to form an organization with the intention of using this as a tool. But as time passed, the labor movement began to spread its wings and throw off its shackles. This happened within Thailand. Thus, I also believe that with respect to the development of the people, many things must be carried on by people at the top. They must handle things. Because things can't be done all at once. Things must evolve on their own.

The political parties are said to be in the parliamentary line. They have to establish party branches as tools. But don't forget that the growth of the party branches and the growth of ideals is proceeding properly. This is the proper way to propose the conditions of the branches. That is, there must be greater propriety. This ties in with the question of whether this will keep pace with the changes.

KHAO PHISSET: There are two possible solutions. One is to reshuffle the cabinet, which might lower the temperature or just give rise to a new conflict. The other is to withdraw from the government. In your view, which solution would lead to new quality in the party?

Sunai: I would like to return for a moment to the question of whether or not this will keep pace. This also depends on other structures in society. It depends on how much free reign is given. As for withdrawing from the government, I think that we have to see if the party is ready for this. We have to find out how people feel about this.

KHAO PHISSET: Do you mean that to determine whether this is right or wrong, you have to find out how the party masses feel?

Sunai: That's right. To determine what is right, it's sometimes necessary to use the masses. We have suggested compromising. If a compromise can't be reached, there will be a split. We have suggested withdrawing in order to preserve our strength. If they are willing to compromise, that's fine. But if they aren't, there will be a split. Parliament will have to be dissolved. I

think that withdrawing will allow us to preserve our strength. This will give some other party a chance to join the government. The important thing is to preserve our strength. This will foster its development.

KHAO PHISET: Mr Chaturon, what do most MPs think should be done? How serious is the problem in their view?

Chaturon: I think that the conflict has already reached a very high level. It has reached the point where one faction has the advantage. Thus, tactically, there can be no acceptance. If the senior people in the party don't change their views soon, there will definitely be a split. The Democrat Party will collapse. If they remain stubborn, refuse to change, and feel that they must win, there will definitely be a split. The other faction is ready to split away. This conflict within the Democrat Party will destroy democracy in our country.

I view this problem as a struggle between a faction that wants democracy and a faction that does not want full democracy or that wants to slow down things. This second faction would like to have dictatorial power. These two factions are engaged in a struggle against each other. I think that we are now dancing to their tune.

At the time when the government was formed, if the senior people in the country had really wanted our country to have a real democracy, they could have done a few things to achieve this. If they had done this, this conflict would not have arisen. It could have been prevented. But instead, people ran here and there trying to curry favor. And even though a conflict has arisen, if those people hold truly democratic ideas and are not just using democracy for their own purposes, the problems can be solved. All we need to do is get three people to talk with each other and reach an agreement. That is all that is needed to solve the problems within the Democrat Party. These three people are all southerners.

KHAO PHISET: If these three southerners that you mentioned can reach an agreement, will this generate new quality or will there be a loose organization?

Chaturon: It would probably be a loose organization. But this would stop the fighting. Today, the conflict is being expanded using the principle of "divide and rule." The present powerholders in the country have been able to maintain their position because of these conflicts. This principle has been used frequently. Whenever the Democrat Party shows tiny cracks, they try to widen the cracks. No one dares oppose the senior people in this country.

KHAO PHISET: Is it correct to say that the prime minister is involved and that he is one of the reasons for the present conflict within the Democrat Party?

Chaturon: That is indisputable. The people at both ends of the pole are all followers of Prem. Many people have told me that they would stop immediately

if Prem told them to. But Prem has intentionally kept quiet. It seems that he wants the party to split apart.

HAO PHISET: Those party members who want the party to withdraw from the government are actually trying to compromise and forge unity, isn't that right?

Chaturon: The present struggle is a struggle between two factions. Interests are at stake. It's a matter of whether people will get positions in the cabinet and how many positions each party will get. Which particular people will lose their positions is another matter. It's a matter of interests.

Another thing is guarantees in selecting candidates the next time for seats on the party executive committee. If we say that we want to talk about this from the perspective of.... We want to provide support. We want to build the party and end the conflicts. Both sides recognize that no one is perfect. No one can do things without ever making a mistake. Both sides have made mistakes. If the other side does something right, that should be accepted. If it makes a mistake, we should help correct this and make improvements. If people have such a viewpoint, I think that things will be all right.

KHAO PHISET: If the three senior people sit down with each other but they are still subordinate to the prime minister, this will just be....

Chaturon: This will just prolong things. That's all it will do. It will just postpone things for a moment. As long as our politicians lack ideals and are not really interested in working on behalf of the country and the people, new conflicts will arise. This will just postpone things.

KHAO PHISET: Will prolonging things affect development?

Chaturon: We can buy time. This will weaken us. As for withdrawing from the government, the results will be as I have already indicated. There are two interests. One concerning positions in the government, that is, ministerial positions. The other concerns guarantees in fielding candidates the next time. If the party withdraws and becomes an opposition party, that will settle one point, leaving just one other. If there is just the one issue, we can probably buy time. We might be able to find a solution. This is one way if we can settle both these issues at the same time. If we solve just one after withdrawing, which one will be easier to solve. That is something worth considering.

This is how I feel. I don't want to see the various political parties focusing exclusively on joining the government, with joining the government being an ideology, with no consideration for democracy. Whether it's the Democrat Party or some other political party, I don't want them to develop an "ideology of wanting to join the government" without considering whether this is good or bad for democracy. Some people and parties want to be part of the government just so they can pile up profits and gain special privileges for themselves. If people join the government for such reasons, they will definitely cooperate with the dictators, and this will harm our democratic form of government. Even



opposition MPs and political parties can play a role in promoting democratic government. An opposition that works to preserve the interests of the country and people, that helps preserve a democratic form of government, and that works to increase the prestige and honor of parliament is an important element in a democratic form of government.

Thus, I would like to tell the Democrat Party and all the other parties not to focus all their attention on becoming part of the government as is the case today. As many people have said, there are no opposition parties in Thailand. There are just government parties and parties waiting to join the government. This poses a danger to democratic government. Because if most of the political parties have this strong desire, they will feed us honey-covered poison tablets and opium. And once we have consumed these substances, the interests of the country and people and the interests of democratic government will suffer. This is because we will have to cooperate with the dictators concealed in the garb of democracy.

KHAO PHISET: How likely is it that the members of the 121 branches will express their feelings as Mr Thongdi stated earlier?

Chaturon: If the party organizations, if the more than 100 party branches can control the bases and determine the objectives, policies, ideals, and strategy, there won't be any problems. This will have a positive effect. But if the party branches act in an undisciplined manner like the MPs and members in Bangkok, this will just increase the disorder.

KHAO PHISET: Can you estimate the present level of disorder, and what will the reaction be if someone recommends such a line?

Chaturon: From what I have seen, the party branches are not yet sufficiently independent politically. Thus, they depend on the MPs, who stipulate the lines and dominate thinking. Thus, the party branch in a province is dominated by the MPs in that province. Now that the 99 MPs in the party have split into factions, the more than 100 party branches have split into two factions. This will just increase the problems.

KHAO PHISET: Will it be difficult to get the branches to express their aims?

Thongdi: This was proposed because it is felt that the way to attack the problems is to hold discussions. Discussions were held by a committee established by the two factions. The committee discussed matters and reached an agreement on various things. But there has not been any response. The problems have not been solved. Thus, the negotiations to solve the problems in the most orderly manner possible have failed. I am trying to figure out where we are at now. If we can't negotiate, we will have to use force. That is, we will have to use the pressure of the masses. We must use the gaps of being a mass party--and everyone agrees that this is a mass party. The first step is to submit letters just like the activity groups or other organizations did. We must submit letters outlining our ideas and making appeals. We must apply a certain amount of pressure. After doing this, we must evaluate the results. If this is effective, it won't be necessary to use force. We can simply make various appeals. But so far, this hasn't achieved anything.

The next step is to have the masses express their views and preferences. After the people express their views, if public opinion is just a scrap of paper, it means that the people are not really the masters of the party. I think that everyone has the right to express his views. But people must be politically astute, have a common point, and have a desire to solve the problems in order to preserve the party.

Chaturon: The problems mentioned by Thongdi are all intangible. To be more concrete about solving the problems, I think that action must be taken. I don't think that it is feasible to have individual party branches come to Bangkok and submit demands and propose compromises at the party headquarters. What the party branches can do is submit proposals to Mr Phichai and to the 10 January group. This will be like a nationwide confrontation from top to bottom.

If we want these forces to express themselves in a way that will help the party to reach a compromise and solve the problems peacefully, there should be ideological guidance. This ideological guidance must be provided by individuals or organizations that are trusted and that have carried on ideological activities among the branches. The branches must be brought together to form a joint force. This group will then be able to apply force. If such a central organization is not formed and if proper ideological guidance is not provided for the party branches and party members nationwide, the problems will just continue to pile up and it will reach the point where the problems cannot be solved.

Thongdi: I would like to expand on the concrete things that I mentioned. In the Democrat Party's present crisis, are leaders Mr Chaturon prepared to be leaders in the present period? (the group laughs)

Chaturon: Is that what you want? (laughs)

Thongdi: I agree with those ideas. These are intangible issues. In the present situation, no one has the courage to express his ideas about the party. But actually, this won't affect the two poles. But if it does, this won't trouble them. If we want to see the intangible problems solved as I suggested, the concrete problem is, who is going to be the leader? I think that we are experiencing a crisis of leadership. Today, we don't have any leaders capable of leading. Thus, if Mr Chaturon feels that what has been proposed is in line with being a mass party in which power comes from below and trust comes from the top, how is he going to use the power of the masses who support the Democrat Party to solve the party's problems?

Sunai: I think that we have to view the principles as being correct. But in mobilizing the masses like that--and as said, it must be like that--how much can be done? Because you have to face the facts and look at the situation of the poor people. If you want to launch a movement, you can't do so at the base. Because the base will make its final decision when things are already in full swing. Has the situation reached that point yet?



Second, in organizing the masses and the party branch organizations, there is no unity. It is very difficult to get people to share their ideas. Going to the branches costs a lot, right? This is impossible. And in the present situation, I think that the minute you mobilize the masses, they would split into factions.

Chaturon: I would like to say that if I were in the position of Chulin Laksanawisit (an MP from Phangnga), this would be easy. But will he do this? It would be proper for him to coordinate things with the branches. But will he do it?

KHAO PHISET: As for the proper way to solve the problems, if good ideas for solving the problems are proposed--ideas that will benefit the party--will this provide any motivation?

Sunai: I agree with you. I think that there is still a chance. There is no organization. There is a lack of organization. Conflicts have arisen at a time when there is no development and so the situation has become serious and the leaders have turned away from the masses. I think that the mango will fall by itself. Will Chaturon be ready if the masses rise up? (laughs)

Chaturon: I haven't refused. I just haven't accepted.

Sunai: I think the time has come. There aren't any problems. The leadership doesn't have any problems. If the masses rise up, there won't be any problems. But if the masses don't rise up, if the time isn't ripe, they would be hanging themselves. That is, the mass movement will give rise to leaders.

Thongdi: To summarize the problems of the Democrat Party.... If we are an opposition party, that is, we must accept the truth. The party is not ready to tackle the country's problems. During the past 7-8 months that we have been in the government, we have not been able to manifest our potential as the largest party in providing political leadership within the government coalition. We have not been able to implement the party's publicly stated policies. We have done a few things. But regarding what the 16 MPs in the cabinet have done to solve the country's problems, I don't think that we have done enough.

It would be proper for the Democrat Party to withdraw and become an opposition party. The Democrat Party must review its political role to see if this is what it wants. As for whether or not we stay in the government, it's up to people outside the Democrat Party to determine what we do. I think that the things that have happened in the present situation show how many years the party has left. The Democrat Party is still the Democrat Party. It is directed by outsiders. If the Democrat Party does not exert itself, which could pose a danger to the party, and if Mr Sunai becomes an MP, he will be swallowed up.

Thus, the time has come for the Democrat Party to stand on its own feet politically. If the Democrat Party becomes an opposition party, we will be in a better position to express the party's views. I think that there are sufficient reasons for this. As for the fact that the Democrat Party is not ready to solve the country's problems, this is not because of an inability to

find the right people for the right jobs or because of an inability to reach a compromise on interests. Instead, the Democrat Party is not ready to govern the country because it lacks internal unity. Because if the Democrat Party is not unified, it means that it has not yet resolved the present conflicts. If there is an election, the people will not vote for the Democrat Party. And what is certain is that if we do not withdraw and become an opposition party, in the end we will be forced to leave the coalition. What is the choice going to be? Will we quit, lose the support of the people, withdraw from the government, or be forced out? I think that withdrawing is the best choice.

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## THAILAND

### 1ST ARMY DEPUTY COMMANDER PROFILED

42070255a Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 13 Jul 87 p 5

[DAILY NEWS Square column by Nanthana: "Maj Gen Yutthana Yaemphan, CRMA Class 4, the Deputy Commander of the 1st Army Region"]

[Text] Today, DAILY NEWS Square would like to introduce the deputy commander of the 1st Army Region, who has an outstanding record. He is the first general in 60 years to be awarded the Ramathibodi Decoration for bravery.

Maj Gen Yutthana Yaemphan, was born in Tha Wasukri Subdistrict, Muang District, Ayuthaha Province, 54 years ago. He was born on 16 February 1932. His father was an army officer and so he lived and attended school in various provinces. He attended primary school in Chachoengsao Province. He attended secondary school at the Benchamarachuthit School in Ratburi. Fellow classmates included Dr Amnat Sunan, Special Col Charun Priakoet, Associate Professor Somsit Wichitphong, Special Col Choetsak Phonlanchanthon, navy Senior Captain Suwannanopkhun Phibunsawat, and Wichan Phukphibun. He attended the Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy [CRMA]. Fellow classmates included Lt Gen Siri Thiwaphan, Lt Gen Wattanachai Wutisiri, Lt Gen Chao Khongphunsin, Air Marshal Kroekchai Hansongkhram, Maj Gen Thanaphon Bunyopatsatham, and Maj Gen Wachiraphon Phonwiang. After graduating in 1957, he was commissioned a sublieutenant in the infantry and made the leader of a small-arms platoon subordinate to the 1st Infantry Regiment. In 1958 he served as an aide to Field Marshal Thanom Kittikhachon. That year, he received a two-step bonus for services rendered while serving as a platoon leader and aide and was promoted to lieutenant. In 1959 and 1960, he served in Korea. He attended the Army Command and General Staff College in 1963-1964. After graduating, he served along the Lao border. He received a two-step bonus and was promoted to major. In 1967-1968, he served as a company commander with the Volunteer Regiment in Vietnam. His company came under heavy attack, but he rallied his men and defeated the enemy. That is a battle that will always be remembered in the history of the Thai military. Because that was only the second time since the First World War that a Thai soldier was awarded the Ramathibodi Decoration from the king. He was the first person in 60 years (since the First World War) to be awarded this decoration for bravery. He was awarded this decoration at 1900 hours on 5 October 1968 at the Phakaphirom Hall at Chitlada Palace. That is a day that he will never forget. The king and queen arrived at the hall. After the king presented him with this decoration, the queen made a statement, saying that "I am very proud of the fact that besides being excellent

fighters, our soldiers are well disciplined and have not done anything to harm the country or their fellow countrymen." She also said that "I am very proud to see this medal being worn by someone who is very brave and who has made sacrifices."

Following that, the king then praised the heroism of the Volunteer Regiment, which had brought honor to the country and enhanced its reputation. He said that "I want to commend Maj Yutthana Yaemphan by presenting him with this decoration, which was established by King Mongkut to cite soldiers for acts of bravery. But bravery is not the only thing that is important. They must also be intelligent, mentally strong, and knowledgeable, and they must have the ability to pass on their knowledge and bravery to their subordinates."

In 1968, he was appointed chief of staff of the 21st King's Guard Infantry Regiment. In 1969 and 1970, he took the staff course at Fort Leavenworth in the United States. He was given a two-step bonus for bravery. On returning from the United States, he was made an instructor at the Army Command and General Staff College, where he taught tactics.

During the period 1973-1978, he served with the 1st Army Area. He served as an intelligence and operations officer and then as the head of the Operations Section of the 1st Army Area. In 1979, he was made intelligence chief with the 4th Army Area. During the period 1980-1983, he served as the army attache in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, and Singapore. In 1984, he returned from Malaysia and was appointed chief of staff of the 1st Army Area.

In 1985, he was made deputy commander of the 1st Army Area. This will be his 4th year with this unit. He is the senior deputy commander. He is a very knowledgeable and talented man who has the characteristics of a leader. He is an army general who has very good human relations. He is now attending the National Defense College as a member of Class 29 and will graduate this September.

He is married to Yongphimon Mahawasu. They have four sons and one daughter. The eldest son is an army officer, Cpt Khanchat, a company commander with the 1st Army Area. The second son is Thawichat. The third son is Parichat, who graduated with honors as an architect from Chulalongkorn University. The fourth son is Lt Nirattisai, who is serving with the 1st King's Guard Infantry Regiment. Their youngest child is Phannika, who is in primary school.

11943

DEPUTY SPECIAL WARFARE COMMANDER PROFILED

42070256c Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 27 Jul 87 p 5

[DAILY NEWS Square column by Nanthana: "Maj Gen Thanaphon Bunyopatsatham, CRMA Class 4, the Deputy Commander of the Special Warfare Command"]

[Text] The officer whom I want to introduce to readers is a member of CRMA [Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy] Class 4. He currently holds the position of deputy commander of the Special Warfare Command. He has held this position for several years and may soon be assigned a higher position. His brother-in-law is Police Maj Gen Sawat Amonwivat.

Maj Gen Thanaphon Bunyopatsatham was born on 2 April 1934. He completed lower secondary school at the Wat Bophitphimuk School in 1949. He graduated from CRMA in 1957.

After graduating from CRMA, he was made the leader of an NCO cadet armored platoon and the leader of a tank platoon with the 5th Battalion, 2d Cavalry Regiment. Then Lt Col Prem Tinsulanon served as the commander of this battalion. In 1959 he took the class for company-grade commanders at the U.S. Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia. He also observed activities at Fort Lewis, Washington. In 1960 he took the jungle warfare class in Malaysia. In 1963 he took the class for field-grade commanders at the Saraburi Cavalry School. After that, he served as an operations and training officer and the deputy commander of the 10th Battalion, 2d Cavalry Regiment, Chakraphong Camp, Prachinburi Province. After graduating from the Army Command and General Staff College, he was assigned to the 6th Regimental Combat Team, Sapsitthiprasong Camp, Ubon Ratchathani Province. In 1966 he was appointed chief of staff of the 2d Cavalry Regiment.

In 1967 he served as the commander of the Independent Company in Korea, 20th Relief. He carried out his duties in an excellent manner and received a commendation for his participation in the well-known Snow Ball training operation. The United States proposed that he attend the U.S. Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth before returning home from Korea. In 1970 he served along the border in Nan Province. His unit seized several communist terrorist bases. His unit was ambushed by communist terrorists several times while escorting troop carriers to protect the road to Ban Huai Kron. He captured many high-level communist terrorists. For example, he



captured Mrs Pratham, the wife of Comrade Prasit (Khe), a member of the CPT (Communist Party of Thailand) Central Committee, during the Nam Chang Operation at Phu Pha Daeng. His forces seized various communist terrorist bases in the Muang Ngeun area in Laos.

In 1973 he attended the U.S. Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. In 1974 he served as the deputy commander of the 2d Cavalry Regiment. In 1977 he commanded Battalion Combat Team 267 during an operation in Nan Province. He succeeded in suppressing the communist terrorists and restoring peace there. He also opened the highway along the eastern border for the people in the northern part of Nan Province. This greatly facilitated travel.

In 1981 he was appointed the deputy chief of staff of the 4th Army Region and commander of a thahan phran irregulars special action unit in the 4th Army Region. He participated in formulating plans and carrying on suppression operations. He helped improve the thahan phran irregulars and enhanced their reputation. He also enhanced his own reputation during the Tai Rom Yen Operation. He was promoted to major general and appointed chief of staff of the 4th Army Region in 1983.

In 1984 he was made deputy commander of the Special Warfare Command. He has participated in developing this unit and establishing an unconventional warfare curriculum. He has worked to improve the efficiency of this unit and helped it to make progress. His superiors have great confidence in him. He has shared the troubles and joys of this unit. He has welcomed VIPs on many occasions. He was awarded the Isariyaphon Medal with sash by the king.

He is married to Somthawin. They have three children. He enjoys all kinds of foods. He stopped smoking many years ago but drinks socially. He exercises regularly. His eldest child is Police Sublieutenant Akraphon Bunyopatsatham, who graduated from the Samphran Police Academy and who is presently studying in the United States. His second child is Sublieutenant Sarawut Bunyopatsatham, who graduated from CRMA and who is now stationed with the 3d Battalion, 11th King's Guard Infantry Regiment. His youngest child, who is 12 years old, attends the Satri Phyathai School.

11943

## THAILAND

### CHANGES IN VOLUNTEER ARMY FORCE STRUCTURE

42070256a Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 30 Jul 87 pp 26, 27

[Unattributed report: "Reduce Number of Recruits, Set Up Volunteer Forces; Will Be Initiated at the 9th Infantry Division in Kanchanaburi in 1988"]

[Excerpts] Recently, Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the RTA CINC, announced that the army's policy is to reduce the number of draftees by establishing "volunteer" forces. Men of draft age who volunteer will be used to form these units. This method will be tested at the 9th Infantry Division, Kanchanaburi Camp, Kanchanaburi Province. This will get underway during the first round of the 1988 draft.

LAK THAI reported and analyzed this once before. We have obtained additional data showing that the establishment of these "volunteer" forces will probably encounter various obstacles. And if mistakes are made in the structure, that is, if the policy is not fully implemented, this will mean a great loss of face for Big Chiu and reduce people's confidence in him.

#### The Main Problem

A news source said that one of the problems will be recruiting soldiers. The higher unit responsible for this is the Reserve Affairs Department, which controls the rosters. It is the 1st Army Region that actually implements things. The lower-echelon units that are actually responsible for drafting youths are the military circles and military districts. In the Kanchanaburi area, it is the Ratburi Military District (Kanchanaburi section) that is responsible for drafting men in this area. But the men who are drafted in Kanchanaburi are not necessarily assigned to the 9th Infantry Division. To which units the men are assigned is another matter. Thus, there is concern that the number of troops assigned to the 9th Infantry Division will not be sufficient, because this is a full-strength division (the actual number of troops cannot be revealed). This division is composed of the 9th and 19th infantry regiments, the 9th Artillery Regiment, and a support regiment. (The 9th Infantry Division is the only division with a support regiment.) It also has cavalry, engineers, communications, and medical battalions. The broad policy that has been formulated is to have every military district or military circle that drafts men accept "volunteers" for assignment to the 9th Infantry Division. That is, when men receive their draft notice, those who want to

serve with the 9th Infantry Division can volunteer for units that need men. Within the Lopburi Military District, Military Circle 1 (in Bangkok), and the Ratburi Military District (Kanchanaburi section), this is the unit that will be allotted slots for volunteers. By doing things this way, the 9th Infantry Division will definitely have sufficient volunteer forces. Applications will be accepted twice a year just like the draft.

Our news source said that the Reserve Affairs Department and the Directorate of Personnel have already made plans. The matter is now in the hands of personnel, that is, Lt Gen Sanan Sawetserani, the assistant army chief of staff for personnel. At a higher level, the matter is being handled by Gen Phichit Kunlawanit, Big Sua, the assistant RTA CINC, who is responsible for personnel affairs.

#### Long-Term Assignments

Those who are drafted must serve for 2 years. But these volunteers must serve for at least 5 years but not more than 8 years. This means that these volunteer forces will be below the age of 30 in 1988. After these men have been assigned to the 9th Infantry Division, in 1989 and the following years it won't be necessary to draft people or accept more applications for this division, because the units will be up to full strength. In following years, fewer men will be drafted. Because in the 1st Army Region, the 9th Infantry Division won't need any more men. During the first round of the 1989 draft, volunteer forces will be accepted for the second time. The plan is to accept volunteer forces in the 1st Army Area for assignment to the 2d Infantry Division in Prachinburi. The first volunteers will probably be assigned to the 21st Queen's Guard Infantry Regiment and the 2d King's Guard Infantry Regiment. Thus, in the 1990 military draft in the 1st Army Region, even fewer men will be drafted, because volunteer forces will have been assigned to two divisions. And if volunteers are assigned to the 1st King's Guard Division the following year, in 1991 even fewer men will have to be drafted. If things proceed as expected, it is expected that by the 4th year, few draftees will be needed in the 1st Army Region.

In the future, when forces are assigned like this in the 2d, 3d, and 4th army regions, the number of draftees required will decline each year. In the end, it will no longer be necessary to draft people when all the units are composed of volunteer forces.

#### Why the 9th Infantry Division?

The army did not decide to initiate this volunteer force program with the 9th Infantry Division because this division is a full-strength division but because this division was first established with "volunteers." That is, in forming units to serve in Vietnam, it was first established as a regiment, the "Chong Ang Suk" Volunteer Regiment. Later on, it was upgraded to a division, the Volunteer Division. When the unit returned from Vietnam, its base in Kanchanaburi was considered suitable for establishing a divisional base. Also, the volunteer forces who had returned from Vietnam had difficulty returning to their original units. Thus, the Volunteer Division was transformed into the 9th Infantry Division.

It can be seen that the 9th Infantry Division is familiar with and was first established with volunteer forces. This is why it was chosen to initiate this new system in accord with the ideas and policy of Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the RTA CINC. Our army news source said that the 9th Infantry Division is prepared for this, because it has done this before. But when this plan is implemented by other divisions that do not have any experience in assigning volunteer forces, there will undoubtedly be some problems at first.

#### The Problem is "Money"

Our news source said that at a recent budget allocation meeting held by the army comptroller, those at the meeting discussed the volunteer force structure. It was stated that it would be necessary to reduce other expenditures in order to spend the money on this. Because it is clear that the salaries of the volunteer forces will have to be higher than those paid draftees even though their salaries will still not be as high as that of volunteers in other units such as the Mahat Lek Ratchawanlop King's Guard Regiment or volunteers who serve as military policemen. There are also accelerated promotions to a rank equivalent to "sergeant" for people with several years of service.

As for the value of this, in the view of the RTA CINC, these volunteer forces will be "semiprofessional" soldiers. They volunteered to join the army and should be willing to train and prepare themselves. The most important thing is they have good "combat morale" just like the thahan phran irregulars. The volunteer forces will have greater rights than thahan phran irregulars, because they are regular soldiers. The thahan phran irregulars are still considered volunteers. Because of this, money must be spent to compensate them.

The news source said that even though the 9th Infantry Division, which is the "demonstration" unit for this new program, has had experience assigning volunteer forces, experience that it gained when it was the Volunteer Division and sent forces to fight in Vietnam, the Thai government did not have to spend any money on the Volunteer Division. The United States "sponsored" almost everything, including the cost of training and arming the unit and sending it to Vietnam. A processing center took care of everything in sending soldiers abroad. But things may not proceed as smoothly now that we have to arrange things ourselves using our own money.

11943



## THAILAND

### OPPOSITION MOVES TO FORM ALLIANCES REPORTED

42070278 Bangkok KHAO PHISET in Thai 29 Jul-4 Aug 87 pp 21, 22

[Unattributed report: "Opposition Politics, from "Benchaphon to Thai Community Action"]

[Text] Shortly after the opposition parties joined together to form a "joint opposition," Samak Sunthonvet, the leader of the Prachakon Thai Party and a key figure of the opposition parties, revealed that one of his long-term political objectives was to get the opposition parties to join together under the name "Benchaphon." This would be similar to UMNO [United Malays National Organization] in Malaysia.

But to date, uniting the various opposition parties that have different ideologies, techniques, and interests to form Benchaphon is still just a political goal rather than a reality. But even though the Benchaphon group has not become a reality, the opposition parties are still working together as usual, and they are still a political force in parliament worth watching.

Community Action + Ruam Thai = "Thai People's Action"

The Special News column in KHAO PHISET recently discussed the attempt by the Community Action and Ruam Thai parties to join together to form a single party. This has stimulated the members of these two parties to take another look at this.

Charat Phuachuai, an MP from Phetchabun Province and the deputy secretary-general of the Community Action Party, told KHAO PHISET that the two parties did discuss joining together prior to the 27 July 1986 election. He said that he served as the coordinator between Bunchu Notchanasathian and Narong Wongsuwan. That was when Mr Narong was the minister of agriculture and the secretary-general.

Charat said that at that time, it was provisionally stipulated that if Bunchu was made party leader, Narong would be party secretary-general. If Bunchu was chief party advisor, Narong would be party leader. It was estimated that if the parties merged, the new party would win at least 40-50 seats in the 27 July 1986 election. But unfortunately, Mr Narong rushed to split away and transform the Pracha Thai Party into the Ruam Thai Party. This was the same



time that Mrs Sira Patmakhom proposed the name Pracha Ratsadon Party to Mr Bunchu, which was finally changed to Community Action Party.

Even though that attempt to merge the parties failed, today, these two parties are still allies. Seni Madakakun and Wasana Bunphuphantanti, two Community Action Party MPs, told KHAO PHISET that the positions of these two parties are quite similar. They could unite at any time. Bunchu and Narong get along very well. They said that during the period that there was talk about reshuffling the cabinet and dissolving parliament, these two discussed the possibility of forming a single party if parliament was dissolved.

Piyanat Watcharaphon, the secretary general of the Ruam Thai Party, told KHAO PHISET that there is a strong possibility that these two parties will merge. According to Piyanat, the strength of the Ruam Thai Party is "politics" while the strength of the Community Action Party is "theory."

"In the past, there has been good coordination on these two fronts," said Piyanat.

A news report stated that in the past, the Ruam Thai Party has been more adept at the political game than the Community Action Party. A clear example of this was the success of the government in getting members of the opposition parties to withdraw their names from the no-confidence motion. Five members of the Community Action Party withdrew their names. And certain senior party members sounded out Ruam Thai members about doing this. But the members of the Ruam Thai Party refused. As a result, the Thai Ruam Party rose to prominence.

But this matter will probably not have any effect on the merger of these two parties. Sombat Sisurin, the spokesman of the Thai Ruam Party, told KHAO PHISET that the Ruam Thai and Community Action parties are very close. They will almost certainly unite at some point in time.

In the future, if these two parties do unite, the Community Action Party's proposal to name the party the Thai People's Action Party may be accepted. What is more important, the Ruam Thai and Community Action parties have 19 and 15 seats respectively for a total of 34 seats. If the two parties unite and wage the next election campaign starting with 34 seats, this party could end up with 50 seats. This is something well worth watching.

#### Uthai-Samak-Chaloem, Strong in Different Ways

Uthai Phimchaichon, the leader of the Progressive Party and the head of the Group of 19 in the opposition parties, and Samak Sunthonwet, the leader of the Prachakon Thai Party, and Police Cpt Chaloem Yubamrung, the leader of the Mass Party, who are important figures in the Group of 19, have constantly tried to play their role as members of the opposition in a very strong manner. It is widely believed that these three men will not join the government as long as Gen Prem Tinsulanon is prime minister.

Uthai Phimchaichon is an older politician who has a very firm political standpoint. In particular, he is resolved to protect parliament and has exerted pressure to have an elected prime minister. Thus, he is widely

respected outside parliament, and this has increased support for the Progressive Party. But at the same time, Uthai's prominence within the party has made it difficult for other members in the party to increase their role. The image of the Progressive Party is still too dependent on Uthai even though there are many excellent people in the party.

Uthai is generally well accepted by this group of opposition parties. But some of the parties feel that his insistence on making a stand shows that he is stubborn and rigid. An example is the by-election in Zone 3, Bangkok Metropolitan, last June. Uthai tried to field a candidate in the name of the Progressive Party even though the other factions all felt strongly that the Prachakon Thai Party should be allowed to field the candidate.

"Mr Uthai is very firm about lines, principles, and positions. But he needs to be more flexible at times," said an opposition party news source about Uthai.

As for Samak Sunthonwet, it is generally accepted that during the last session of parliament, Samak played a very acrimonious role. He stood on the side of parliamentary democracy. He played the role of spearhead to a greater degree than others. Many have said that Samak "knows how to play the game."

Some key opposition figures said that Samak is always on top of the situation. He always knows what is happening. He "does his homework." In this respect, he has the advantage over people like Uthai Phimchaichon, Bunchu Rotchanasathian, and Narong Wongwan. And the important thing is that Samak has his own mouthpiece (a newspaper). But he has tried to maintain his position as a professional politician.

However, at a time when Samak has advanced politically and succeeded in persuading many middle-class intellectuals, who had always rejected him, to take an interest in him, his background is still causing many people to have doubts about his political position. While he has gained widespread acceptance among the opposition parties, with respect to getting people to accept his political positions, it will take time for him to prove himself. Others, like Uthai, have already won respect for their positions.

As for Chaloen Yubamrung, during the last term, his star rose very rapidly and almost equaled that of Samak. In terms of speaking ability, his image has come to equal that of Samak. Some factions have tried to improve this image in order to cause a clash between Samak and Chaloen. They hope to weaken the opposition. But neither Samak nor Chaloen have fallen into this trap.

There were once rumors that Samak and Chaloen would merge their parties. But this is still just a "rumor." The two men have not held talks or reached an official agreement. However, it seems likely that these two men may merge their parties in the future, because the primary base of both parties is Bangkok Metropolitan.

Regardless of whether or not these two parties unite in the next election, at present, Chaloen and Samak are both adept at handling political tricks, and they work together well. For example, prior to the close of parliament, these two men made an effort to topple Squadron Leader Prasong Sunsiri, the

secretary general of the prime minister, and this caused quite an uproar. When parliament opens this time, these two will probably be key opposition figures once again.

However, as a young man who lacks long political experience, Chaloom still has a lot to learn. At present, it is still too early to tell whether Chaloom is a "star" that will remain in the sky or whether he is just a "shooting star" that will blaze only momentarily.

#### The Fall, the Matter of Phon and Tamchai

Even though Buntheng Thongsawat is accepted politically, it is generally known that the real powers behind the United Democracy Party, of which Buntheng is leader, are Col Phon Roengprasertwit, the party's chief advisor, and Tamchai Khamphato, the party secretary general. They are the party's "financiers."

Col Phon showed great resentment just before parliament closed. This resentment stems from the fact that the United Democracy Party was not allowed to join the government coalition. At the same time, this party is still regarded as "peculiar" by the other opposition parties. Many members of the opposition believe that when parliament reconvenes, Col Phon will make a great effort to collect the signatures of MPs to submit a motion to hold a no-confidence debate against the government. But this depends on immediate political interests. It is impossible to determine how many MPs in this party are really in Col Phon's corner.

A news report stated that Col Phon's pineapple factory in Cha-am encountered such serious problems that he had to shut down the factory on 13 July. The fact that he has been pushed into a corner on this issue may greatly increase his political intensity.

#### Debate and By-Election, a Test of the Opposition During Parliament's Recess

On 25 July, the opposition parties will hold a debate outside parliament in Chiang Mai. This is considered to be another exercise by the opposition parties. And on 13 September, by-elections will be held in Yasothon and Surin provinces. This will be a direct confrontation between the opposition parties and government parties. This will be a battle well worth watching. The opposition will have a chance to show its power. The success or failure of the opposition parties in these two by-elections will show how able the opposition really is.

The two candidates of the government faction are Wisan Detchasen and Seksan Saenphum, two former rebel MPs from the Progressive Party who were expelled from the party. Thus, the opposition has a chance to force the government to "give ground" if the opposition can remain united.

11943

## THAILAND

### GOVERNMENT DILEMMA OVER ISLAMIC SCHOOLS IN SOUTH VIEWED

42070259a Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 30 Jun 87 pp 9, 14

[Article by Narongrut Sakdannarong: "The (New) Appearance of the Private Islamic Schools"]

[Excerpts] A cabinet resolution authorized the Ministry of Education to encourage ponoh [Islamic] schools to register as private Islamic schools within the next 3-5 years in accord with the cabinet resolution of 14 June 1966. The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Interior worked to carry out things in accord with this cabinet resolution. At a joint conference on 5 August 1967, these two ministries issued a resolution on the line of action to be taken. The resolution called for the provinces to inform the owners of the ponoh schools that they were supposed to register and convert their schools to private Islamic schools by 15 June 1971. Any ponoh school that failed to do this would be considered closed. Besides this, the ponoh schools that did not convert during the period 1967-1971 received support based on the criteria stipulated.

Several of the criteria stipulated at that time were that the ponoh schools must register in accord with Ministry of Education regulations. They were required to have at least 50 students and to teach the Thai language. During that period, such support was also extended to schools in other provinces besides Yala, Narathiwat, Satun, and Pattani. The government authorized the Ministry of Education to carry on things based on the 1967 project to improve the ponoh schools in education regions 2, 3, and 4 and convert them to private Islamic schools. Thus, it was during the period 1965-1970 that the government intensified its efforts to get the ponoh schools to convert to private Islamic schools.

A total of 221 ponoh schools registered and became private schools. Of these, 195 improved their activities and received rewards. The program to support the private Islamic schools is still in effect.

Another important program that has played a great role in developing the ponoh schools is the Ministry of Education's 1983-1986 Program To Support Private Islamic Schools in the South. This program provides support with money, personnel, equipment, welfare aid, and so on. The cabinet has approved extending the time limit of this program through fiscal year 1987.



The problems and obstacles of this Ministry of Education program have received much attention. The program has both supporters and detractors. The problems and obstacles can be summarized as follows:

With respect to the number of students taking the prayok-level examination, which is the highest level in the religious curriculum, schools eligible for support must have 25 students taking the examination. But smaller schools have a problem, because they don't have that many students taking the examination. Such schools often solve this problem by curtailing prayok-level classes and making the lower grades the highest grades taught. As a result, more than 25 students take the examination. Some schools recruit additional senior students just before the examination so that they will have the required 25 students to take the examination. This is wrong. As for evaluating the schools based on the standards for private Islamic schools, the score on the evaluation must not be below 50 percent. The problem is the method of evaluation used by provincial officials. Officials in different provinces frequently use different criteria. It often depends on the judgment of each person. Thus, the evaluations are frequently inaccurate.

It has been stipulated that the ratio of teachers who provide religious instruction to pupils is to be 1:40. But the schools often disregard this. Often, there is evidence that they hire instructors just before they are to receive support funds. The expenditures of those granted school permits include expenditures for dato teachers. This accounts for 10 percent of the support funds. Usually there is no problem with this.

But something that happens very frequently and that is becoming a problem is that at some of the schools that have received permits, the dato teachers are interested in teaching only religious subjects. They leave the general subjects to the civil service teachers. Thus, there is a lack of coordination, and this leads to misunderstandings.

As for paying the teachers who provide religious instruction, which accounts for 40 percent of the support funds, problems have arisen in paying this money. In some places, the money is divided into equal parts and paid monthly. When support funds drawn at the end of the fiscal year arrive, these instructors request additional money. This has led to conflicts between these instructors and the school administrators.

As for the other 50 percent of the support money, which is used to develop school activities, there are usually no documents to show how the money was spent and so this cannot be checked. As for personnel support, based on the criteria for providing support, there is still a severe shortage of civil service instructors at these schools. This is why the quality of the instruction in the general courses is so poor.

The Committee to Improve Private Islamic Schools has considered the support plans and feels that future support plans should focus on changing the appearance of certain things. For example, some of the criteria and support methods should be changed. The 40 percent of the money paid to teachers should be shared by both instructors who teach general subjects and instructors who



teach religious subjects. The welfare benefits given to the principal and instructors at these schools should be similar to those given to instructors at private general schools. Instead of providing personnel support or sending civil service instructors to help provide instruction, the schools should be given additional support funds to hire full- and part-time instructors.

The Private Education Commission has established a subcommittee to consider plans to support the private Islamic schools in the south. It is composed of important people who are directly concerned with this. This committee has representatives from Education Zone 2, the Bureau of the Budget, the National Economic and Social Development Board, the Department of Curriculum and Instruction Development, and the Department of General Education. The head of the Special Schools Section, Office of the Private Education Commission, serves as subcommittee secretary. This subcommittee has held meetings.

It is widely felt that the support line should follow that of the Ministry of Education's 1983-1986 Program to Support Private Islamic Schools in the South. However, some of the criteria and the methods of giving support and auditing the use of the support funds must be revised and tightened. As for the support funds to pay the salaries of the teachers hired by the schools, the subcommittee secretary has been given the task of studying the data again. It is felt that the suggestions made at the meeting to monitor and evaluate the activities of the southern private Islamic schools, which was held in Pattani Province during the period 13-15 May 1987, should be used to help draft the support plan to be submitted to the Ministry of Education and cabinet for consideration and approval.

The meeting held during the period 13-15 May in Pattani Province was held in order to gather ideas and formulate a plan to improve and promote the private Islamic schools. Those attending this meeting included important national-level figures from the Ministry of Education and other units. Some of the topics discussed at the meeting were school qualities that should be supported during the period of the Sixth Education Plan (1987-1991), methods of providing support for adult, secondary, and vocational education, ways of controlling and auditing the use of support funds, and welfare benefits such as type 1 and 2 support funds, medical expenses, school tuition for children, and so on. As for curriculum and instruction development, curriculum models, evaluation techniques, and so on were presented.

At this meeting, Pattani Province made a great effort to gather ideas. There was widespread debate. The ideas of the important individuals and experts in various fields will be helpful in stipulating models and lines for improving things.

It is worth noting that several knowledgeable people expressed the view that with respect to instruction at the private Islamic schools, there have been periods when the policies have been wrong and things have gone in the wrong direction. As a result, Muslims in Satun Province prefer to speak the local Malay dialect.

In the past, Thai in Satun spoke the Thai language. But today, they use the Malay language almost exclusively. The use of the Malay language is spreading

to other provinces besides the four southern provinces, that is, Yala, Narathivat, Satun, and Pattani.

Several knowledgeable people said that one of our purposes in providing general education in the private Islamic schools is to persuade them to use the Thai language in daily life. But instead, as a result of the instruction provided in these schools, the use of the Malay language is spreading to other provinces. This is very worrisome.

11943

## THAILAND

### BRIEFS

ARMY ON MANUN RETURN--Manun Rupkhachon can return to Thailand if there are no charges against him. As for how safe he will be if he returns, he probably knows the answer. Maj Gen Waritdon Detchapradit, the secretary of the army, discussed the reports that Mr Manun Rupkhachon, a promoter of the 9 September rebellion, will return to Thailand. He said that he does not know the details about this. But he feels that if there are no charges against him, he can return. He probably knows whether or not it is dangerous to return. The army does not harbor any resentment. But he said that he doesn't know whether government officials will file charges against him. [Text] [42070282c Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 1 Jul 87 p 2] 11943

## SOCIAL-POLITICAL TENDENCIES AMONG YOUTHS DISCUSSED

Hanoi THANH NIEN in Vietnamese Feb 87 pp 10-12

[Article by Trung Thanh: "Social-Political Tendencies Among Youths Today"]

[Text] Today, there is a lack of unity in determining social-political tendencies among youths. Thus, the question is how to carry on ideological activities effectively among the youths.

The past 10 years have shown that in our society, there is a fierce struggle between two paths. This struggle is still being waged rather fiercely in all spheres of social life. All you need to do is walk through the material commodity markets in a number of large cities to see how complex this struggle is. And the situation is just as complex on the spiritual markets. Sometimes, it is even more complex, but it is difficult to discern because it is not so open. This situation was outlined in the political report of the Central Committee of the CPV presented at the Sixth Party Congress. The section dealing with the transitional period stated that "this is a period of complex class struggle. This is a struggle between socialism and capitalism in all the spheres of social life to determine 'who will win.'"

This struggle, which is taking place throughout all of society, cannot help but be reflected in the ranks of youths.

The problem is to analyze the social-political tendencies among youths fully and with a scientific basis and to evaluate these tendencies. Only in this way will it be possible to carry on youth activities correctly.

In a previous article on the social-class structure of our country's youths, I explained that in looking at the objective social position of youth groups, many have a socialist nature (working youths, collective peasant youths, intellectual youths). But there are also youth groups that do not have a socialist nature (merchant youths, small-landlord youths, private peasant youths, and youths in private capitalist families).

When talking about social-political tendencies among youths today, it is impossible to ignore the objective social basis of these tendencies. Social existence determines social concepts. This absolute materialistic viewpoint compels us to do this. Previously, when analyzing political tendencies among

Russian students prior to the revolution, Lenin emphasized that "naturally, class divisions are the primary basis for political divisions. In the final analysis, class divisions always determine political divisions" (Discussions on Youths, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1966, p 91).

Our country is in a similar situation today. We are in a period of transition (in particular, we are in the first stage of this period) and so there are still divisions. There are class divisions and so it is impossible to examine social-political tendencies in general and among youths in particular outside the classes.

However, this does not mean that the social-political tendencies will mirror our class classifications. This way of thinking is a metaphysical, non-dialectical way of thinking. The effects of various social concepts on the social classes do not follow a straight path. Instead, they follow a very winding path. On one hand, as Lenin said, in the final analysis, class divisions determine political divisions. But this "in the final analysis" is based on a political struggle (as above), that is, by means of ideological and political effects. On the other hand, during periods of fierce class struggle, particularly when society faces a decisive choice concerning its path of development, concepts can have a direct and decisive effect on the social-political tendencies of each person. In particular, progressive and revolutionary social concepts have a great appeal to youths. During revolutionary periods, regardless of the class they come from, youths in general tend to follow the progressive and revolutionary ideology.

But the effects of the concept are not always positive. In a number of cases, particularly when there is disorder in society and the strong and effective influence of revolutionary ideology is lacking, social concepts can have a negative effect on people. People who, viewed objectively, belong to class elements having a revolutionary nature are sometimes influenced by backward and even reactionary thinking.

It can be said that in our country today, because of the great difficulties concerning living conditions and the social and economic complexities, social values have been turned upside down, and negative social phenomena have increased greatly. As a result, the social-political concepts of the masses in general and of the youths in particular have undergone great change. The concept of pragmatism, using money as the center, is coming to an end in the social groups that were objectively socialist in nature. This is a point that must be given attention when analyzing social-political tendencies among our youths today. How many basic social-political tendencies are there among today's youths?

We feel that there are two basic tendencies and one tendency that vacillates between these two.

The first basic tendency is the socialist tendency. Based on our country's historical development during the past several decades, this is the strongest tendency. Socialist transformation and development in the north began in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Although there were specific deviations, obstacles, and defeats, a favorable position was created for socialist



thinking to take root widely and deeply among the youths. Children were trained under socialism. Students in the north became familiar with the values of the new society. When they grew older and became involved in social labor, these youths lived and worked according to these values. The propagation of these values was sometimes rudimentary, and occasionally major mistakes were made (such as regarding manual labor as superior to intellectual labor, considering social fairness to be the same as average-ism, basing understanding of collectivism on a negation of the individual, and so on). But our youths did not and could not accept exploitation or social injustice (being paid without working, being paid too much as compared with the amount of work done, and so on). They focused on the values of wonderful people, particularly labor values. This formed the basis of socialist thinking. During the years of the fierce struggle against the United States, in shedding their blood for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, our youths always tied national independence to socialism in their combat ideals.

Socialist thinking is deeply imbedded in the subconscious minds of our youths. Today, youths criticize negative social phenomena with an uncompromising attitude, and their criticism is very sharp. This is because they are imbued with socialist values. No matter how harsh, there is no need to fear this criticism. This should be welcomed, because it means that our youths are still deeply imbued with socialist values. Here, there is one point that must be clarified. Are youths criticizing socialism or things that are blocking and eroding socialism? In the great majority of the cases, they are not criticizing socialism. Rather, they are criticizing the policies and people that use the name "socialist" in order to oppose the interests of the fatherland and socialism.

In affirming and solidifying socialist thinking among the youths in our country, attention must be given to the wholesome influence of the material and spiritual achievements in the fraternal socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union. Particularly in the ideological sphere, the international character of socialism stands out like a strong force. Living and working like the youths in the progressive socialist countries is the dream of our youths.

But at the same time, a painful reality is that socialist thinking among youths has been eroded to varying degrees. The most widespread manifestation of this is the lack of confidence in the ability of socialist values to implement things.

There have been many cases in which people enthusiastically left to fight, dreaming of a bright future. But then they developed doubts and even became involved in illegal activities.

The degree of firmness concerning socialist thinking is different. Only by conducting serious psychological-sociological studies can we obtain a clear picture about this.

The second tendency is the capitalist tendency. In our country, this tendency is not orthodox and so it is not expressed openly in books and newspapers. But in daily life and daily relations, it appears very clearly in many spheres. Many youths who have recently completed their educations and some who are

still in school want to make as much money as possible as soon as possible regardless of public opinion or the law. Although this tendency does not have a broad social base, this does not mean that it can't spread. Money! This is the motto of those who follow this tendency. These people are critical of those who want to find a way to live honestly and live by means of their own labor. "Stupid! Foolish!" All you need to do is walk along the streets to see the destructive power that these people have on morals and laws. A question that many people have is: "What do they do to be able to live so lavishly and squander so much money?" The answer is simple. They steal! They steal in a variety of ways. Some are legal and some aren't. Sometimes they do things in secret and at other times they act in a very daring manner.

This tendency is gaining strength from two sources:

The bourgeois way of life, a way of life that considers consumption to be the goal. Such ideas are flowing in from Western countries via many routes.

The lavish lifestyle of decadent and degenerate people in the state apparatus, who are shamelessly using their positions to profit but who have not been punished.

The capitalist tendency is manifested quite clearly in the habit of imitating the Western way of life and using this way of life as the standard. We don't deny that the Western countries have many wonderful things. In particular, they are very dynamic in the economic and scientific and technical fields. These strong points must be studied seriously. We must not be lulled to sleep by the "superiority" of socialism even if this exists only in books. But we must not import their extravagant way of life, regard money and commodities as the most important thing, consider social injustice as an inevitable "part" of human society, and regard people as a type of commodity. What is more, we must not import the products of the social and spiritual crisis in the Western countries.

The capitalist tendency is spreading among our youths, including the working youths. Only by conducting a scientific study can we determine how widely and deeply this has spread among the youths.

The two tendencies discussed above cannot be totally separated from each other. A number of youths are vacillating between these two tendencies. They do not accept capitalism and want to move in the direction of socialist values. But in daily life, they sometimes engage in activities that are contrary to socialism. Furthermore, unwholesome manifestations occur even among those who basically follow the socialist path. Because of this "middle" tendency, the struggle between the socialist and capitalist tendencies among our youths has not produced any clear-cut forms.

As pointed out at the Sixth Party Congress, Vietnamese society today requires a great renewal in all spheres of social life. During this renewal, there can be no compromise between the socialist and capitalist tendencies. Our renewal is a socialist renewal. This is definite.

The struggle between the two tendencies to determine "who will defeat whom" must be given top priority. There must be deep awareness concerning this struggle. But what is even more necessary and urgent is that youths must oppose the capitalist tendency and its basis with an attitude of being vigilant and being unwilling to compromise. At the same time, through their actions, youths must strongly affirm the socialist tendency.

11943

CSO: 4209/533

## HANOI INDUSTRIAL SECTOR MOVES TO IMPLEMENT RESOLUTION 2

Hanoi HANOI MOI in Vietnamese 10 Jun 87 p 3

[Article by Tho Cao: "Implementing Resolution 2 of the CPV Central Committee--Hanoi Industrial Sector Has Done Some Work But Results Remain Unclear"]

[Text] Two months have passed since Resolution 2 of the CPV Central Committee took effect.

'fter having thoroughly understood the resolution and disseminated the program to implement it among enterprise directors, the Industrial Service took the necessary action, one by one: It directed four enterprises (Hanoi Paints Enterprise, Minh Khai Textile Enterprise, Thong Nhat Electrical Machinery Enterprise, and Thang Long Knitting Enterprise) in paying on a trial basis wages and between-shifts meals in accordance with the need for labor reproduction. It developed programs of cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries. In order to serve agriculture some units combined their emulating efforts to assist Dong Anh 2 State Farm in fulfilling its animal-raising task. The service is drafting plans for gradually reorganizing production in the Bat Trang pottery and porcelain manufacturing center, separating the Dai Kim Plastic Factory from the Hanoi Plastic Enterprise and making it a new enterprise, and merging the Hanoi and Nghia Do soft drink enterprises. It has organized the election of the deputy director of the 10 October Textile Enterprise, with experience being learned for electing heads of enterprises in the future.

The enterprises which are subordinate to the service were actively overcoming difficulties in order to maintain production and trying to calculate for the first time the "entry end" and "exit end" and to carry out the plan for new wages based on different set levels of calories.

In the first 5 months of this year the sector as a whole fulfilled 33.3 percent of its plan for the entire year, with an increase of 15.8 percent of the value of gross production compared to the same period in 1986. Although this level of endeavor is not very high, in the present situation of unstable supply of power, serious shortage of materials, and failure to sign economic contracts, it really shows a remarkable effort.

However, the truth is that for the time being, if the "entry end" is calculated accurately and fully in accordance with the new mechanism, the service as a whole only has about 35 enterprises paying their entire share of accumulation to the state, about 15 paying an insufficient share, and about 10 having to carefully review their production and business in order to find a way to resolve their current problems.

The sector as a whole by this time has had a clear understanding: For production enterprises the key question is that they must bring about realistic results and must not tolerate the situation in which their capital is eroded by losses or they have "unreal profits, real losses."

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CSO: 4209/547



## HANOI OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON ELECTING ENTERPRISE DIRECTOR

Hanoi HANOI MOI in Vietnamese 10 Jun 87 p 3

[Interview With Nguyen Dinh Lac, director of Hanoi Industrial Service: "Preparations for Election of Director of Ready-Made Clothing Enterprise 40"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Question: We have learned that your service is preparing for electing a director in Ready-Made Clothing Enterprise 40. Please let us know the purpose and requirements of this election.

Answer: The Municipal CPV Committee and Municipal People's Committee have agreed that we elect on a trial basis a deputy director in the 10 October Textile Enterprise and a director in the Ready-Made Clothing Enterprise 40. This is a very new thing, which requires careful action. The election in the former enterprise has brought about good results. Election in the Ready-Made Clothing Enterprise 40 will take place in this coming July. The purpose is to use the secret votes of workers and civil servants, through their democratic opinion, to select a director having full talent and qualities to lead the enterprise at its current level, which in the future will be a center of the Union of Clothing Enterprises. The requirements are to be able to promote the real ownership right of workers and civil servants, to avoid forcing and imposing any selection, and to make everybody assume a high degree of responsibility in the selection process. The standard qualities of a director are openly announced within the Ready-Made Clothing Enterprise 40 and in the entire service so that every cadre could enjoy the right to apply for the job or to nominate someone. We make public the list of those who apply for the job and those who are nominated, their biographical summaries, and the plans of action they have drafted at least a week before election day so as to let workers and civil servants have enough time to study and to think it over. About the election itself, we affirm that we do our very best to avoid formality and that we do not expect perfection.

Question: What principles does the election rely on?

Answer: Those who apply or are nominated, prior to being put on the list, all go through the guidance committee which checks them on the basis of the adopted standards. Those who get the most votes will be awarded the job. In case of a vote tie, the election will be reorganized. In addition to those

who apply, the guidance committee has the right to suggest to the leadership of enterprises in the service that they nominate cadres by the method of negotiating, practicing democracy, and exchanging views among mass organizations, under the leadership of the collective of enterprise CPV committees. It is necessary for me to emphasize that those who apply for the job must draft a socioeconomic plan for carrying out the political task of the enterprise to present to voters and to be posted for voters to read at their convenience, in which they must clearly state the method they want to use to carry out this plan.

Question: What are the qualifications that have been set as standards for selecting a director for Ready-Made Clothing Enterprise 40?

Answer: On the basis of the situation and characteristics of the enterprise, our service has temporarily set these standards:

About educational background: college level education. About specialized and professional capabilities: to have completed the basic political theory course; to have done management work at the basic level ranging from work shop supervisor and deputy supervisor to chief and deputy chief of office, committee (or equivalent), or higher; and to be evaluated by the enterprise as outstanding management cadres in the present position and have upheld party policies and line, state laws, and procedures and policies, with the ability to apply these procedures and policies to the actual conditions in Vietnam.

About qualities and morality: to have fulfilled the political task, including the management work related to present position; to be incorruptible, just, and impartial; to enjoy the trust of workers and civil servants; to lead a clean and wholesome private life.

About behavior: to be modest, simple, honest, frank, flexible, active, and sensitive to the new; to be willing to make firm decisions and to assume responsibility; to have a sense of organization and discipline; not to be authoritarian and autocratic; not to rely on others but to know how to rely on party organizations, mass organizations, and labor collectives to fulfill one's task.

About age: not to exceed 55 for men and 50 for women.

Question: Who can vote?

Answer: We have decided that the following can vote: heads of production teams, heads of trade union locals, party cell leaders, heads of youth union subchapters, members of party chapter committees, grade 5 workers, grade 1 engineers, grade 2 intermediate-level cadres, and (former) grade 3 party affairs specialists, and higher. We believe that these people have represented the aspirations of the collective of workers in the enterprise.

Question: How will the election be carried out?

Answer: In the election, the guidance committee reiterates the purpose, requirements, and principles and makes public the biographies of candidates

and nominated people; later each candidate presents a summary of his plan at the conference; then the voting takes place. The vote-counting committee is elected by the voters' conference.

Question: So far how much work has your service done in terms of preparing for and carrying out the election?

Answer: We have disseminated the information among directors of the enterprises subordinate to the service in order that they would get ready with candidates and nominated people, along with statements introducing the characteristics and situation of Ready-Made Clothing Enterprise 40. In the first 10 days of June, candidates are to be introduced to the key cadres of Ready-Made Clothing Enterprise 40 and after that investigation and writing of plans will take place. These plans will be posted in public places and read over the public address system of the enterprise.

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CSO: 4209/547

## PROHIBITED, CONDITIONAL EXPORT GOODS LISTED

Hanoi NGOAI THUONG in Vietnamese 15 May 87 p 2

[Unattributed article in 'Understanding Documents-Policies' column: "List of Prohibited and Conditional Export Goods Shipped by Non-Commercial Means (Appendix of Customs General Directorate Decision 516/TCHQ-PC, 17 April 1987)\*"]

[Text] 1. All types of weapons (such as: military weapons, physical training arms, military and physical training ammunition, and rudimentary weapons); explosives, highly inflammable materials and military equipment.

2. Radios, all kinds of audio and video receivers, video cassette players (whether as a complete set or in individual components), computers, air conditioners, and electric fans imported by Vietnam (except when the exporter again exports the goods above; or when he buys them at a Vietnamese state store for sale to gain foreign exchange and has a bill of sale.

3. Automobiles, motor bicycles and motorcycles imported by Vietnam (with the exception of the circumstances mentioned in item 2 above).

4. Valid and canceled postage stamps (except when permitted by the Post and Telecommunications General Department).

5. Crude or alloy precious metals; precious stones, pearls, and diamonds whether natural or artificial, and all types of money, bills of exchange and checks with a monetary, including Vietnamese currency, exchange value (except when again exported by exporters or when permission is received from the Vietnam State Bank).

6. Gold and silver plated art and handicraft items (except when accompanied by a valid bill of sale from a state gold and silver art store).

7. Opium, all types of narcotics, materials and tools used to process and use these materials, addictive drugs, anesthetics, and poisonous substances.

8. All types of chemicals (except when accompanied by a permit from a chemical agency).

9. Documents written in shorthand or code either literal or numeric.

10. All data (scientific, technical, economic and political), printed copy, drafts, stencils, drawings, statues, books and newspapers, phonograph records, music tapes, audio and video tapes, movie films, and other articles with themes relating to national secrecy, all kinds of exposed but still undeveloped film (except when accompanied by a permit from a cultural agency for those items within the management purview of that agency or a permit from a security agency for those items with themes relating to national secrecy).

11. Scientific documents and reports, research data, basic investigative data, and all mineral and geological descriptions, animal and plant species, etc. (In cases in which these items must be shipped outside the country for research or scientific and technical testing for a dissertation or thesis or for scientific and technical cooperation, a State Science and Technology Commission permit is required).

12. Scientific materials and equipment imported into Vietnam.

13. Antiques, paintings, documents, books and newspapers, and valuable art objects relating to the Vietnam revolution, history, culture, art, inventions and creations within the management purview of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (except when accompanied by a permit from a cultural agency or openly exported with a marked price).

14. Charts, maps and other documents of a military nature.

15. Specimens of valuable insects, minerals, animals and plants of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (except when accompanied by a permit from an authorized state agency).

16. Live animals of the valuable and rare type, including the products of these animals such as: elephant ivory, turtles, pangolin scales, and tiger, leopard and python skins (except for scientific and technical research agencies when permitted by authorized agencies of the state.)

17. Fresh, live and easily spoilable material that is not appropriately wrapped and preserved, and substances detrimental to public sanitation.

18. Agricultural, forestry, native and marine products and art and handicraft items under the unified management purview of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (except when accompanied by a store bill of sale registered with customs, and if not, a permit from a customs agency).

19. Vegetable seed and cereal variety seedlings (except with a permit from a plant quarantine agency).

20. Sandalwood, ky nam herbs, cinnamon and various types of plant extracts.

21. Other goods forbidden for export by the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

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CSO: 4209/531



## FURTHER ON LIST OF PROHIBITED, CONDITIONAL IMPORT GOODS

Hanoi NGOAI THUONG in Vietnamese 25 May 87 p 2

[Unattributed article in 'Understanding Documents-Policies' column: "List of Prohibited and Conditional Import Goods Shipped by Non-Commercial Means (Appendix of Customs General Directorate Decision 516/TCHQ-PC, 17 April 1987)"]

[Text] 1. All types of weapons (such as: military weapons, physical training arms, military and physical training ammunition, and rudimentary weapons); explosives, inflammable materials, and military equipment (an exception are hunting weapons for which a Ministry of Interior permit is required prior to importation).

2. Radios, telephones, telegraph sets and accessories (except for video cassette recorders stipulated and permitted by the Ministry of Culture).

3. Valid and canceled postage stamps (except when permitted by the Post and Telecommunications General Department).

4. No Vietnamese currency, bills of exchange, checks or certificates with a payment value may be sent as gifts (except for cases in which an importer may import Vietnamese currency with a permit from the Vietnam State Bank; and bills of exchange, checks and certificates with a payment value, when carried on the person, must be declared to entry point customs and comply with the regulations of the Vietnam State Bank).

5. Foreign exchange; precious metals (pure or alloy); precious stones, pearls and diamonds (natural or artificial) carried on the person during importation must all be declared to entry point customs. These items received in gifts and declared to entry point customs will be considered legal and be entitled to rights stipulated by the State Bank. All cases of concealing and failing to declare these items will be considered as illegal importation and will be prosecuted in accordance with current statutes dealing with foreign exchange and customs.

6. Opium, narcotics, the materials and tools used to process and use these materials, addictive drugs, anesthetics, and poisonous substances.

7. All types of medicines without labels, labels that are not intact, those that have exceeded the expiration date, of dubious quality (including oriental medicines processed into tablets and powders), and those with packages and wrapping that are not intact (except for those medicines carried on the person for personal use en route); those types of medicines which are not in circulation or use in the country producing the medicine or in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; and tranquilizing drugs (except for those cases fully approved for treatment requirements by a provincial public health service and up).

8. All types of chemicals used to make raw materials must have a permit from the Chemicals General Department before importation (in cases where goods reach an entry point before a permit can be acquired, permission must still be sought from the Chemicals General Department. Within a period of 7 days from the time a request is received, the responsible agency must inform the applicant of the results. If no reply is received after this period, a determination will be made by customs).

9. Documents written in shorthand or code either literal or numeric.

10. All documents, printed copy, drafts, notes, printing plates, stencils, phonograph records, music tapes, recorded audio and video tapes, exposed but still undeveloped movie and still picture film, paintings, books and newspapers, statues and other articles with a theme detrimental to the politics, economy and culture of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (except with a permit from a cultural agency for articles under the management authority of that agency, or from a security agency for those items with a theme pertaining to national security; articles with an unclear theme will be held by a cultural or security agency for inspection with a reply provided if permitted within a period not to exceed 15 days from the time of temporary retention).

11. Undiluted chemical sugars

12. Types of canned and sealed goods (except for those sealed in transparent packaging or that can be easily opened for inspection).

13. Strong liquors (over 40 percent) (except for those being carried in accordance with baggage allowances by Vietnamese entering the country).

14. Tobacco products, including shredded tobacco and single cigarettes and cigars (with the exception of those being carried in accordance with baggage allowances by Vietnamese entering the country).

15. Fresh, live and easily spoilable material, and substances detrimental to public sanitation for which import permission has not been received from a quarantine agency.

16. Clothing, cloth and other articles imprinted with images or words not conforming with the good morals and customs of Vietnam.

17. Used clothing, blankets, mosquito nets and footwear (except for that being carried in the luggage of those entering the country or sent ahead before returning to the country after a period in a foreign country).

18. Other goods forbidden for importation by the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

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CSO: 4209/531

## COMMODITY-CURRENCY RELATIONSHIP DISCUSSED

Hanoi GIAO DUC LY LUAN in Vietnamese Apr 87 pp 28-33

[Article by Le Hong Tien: "Correct Understanding of the Commodity-Currency Relationship During the Initial State of the Transitional Period in Our Country"]

[Text] Today, facing the need to strengthen relations between the countries with different political systems and the tendency to form a unified world market, the struggle between the socialist and capitalist systems is becoming more complex and fierce.

In this struggle, "in the final analysis, labor productivity is the most important factor for the success of the socialist system." (Footnote 1) (V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Vol 39, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, p 25) This has forced the socialist countries to face the truth squarely and carry on an urgent economic reform in order to overcome the difficulties and gradually satisfy the requirements of the new historical age of competition. One of the main factors used in this economic reform is the commodity-currency relationship. Even though it has been shown that commodity production is an essential element in socialism, the commodity-currency relationship has not been assigned its proper position in the socialist economy. The socialist economy is based on public ownership of the means of production and so it must expand in a planned manner to support the interests of the laborers. But this planned economy is being implemented at a time when the standards of the production forces are low, the division of labor is still undeveloped, the standards of the management organizations are uneven, and people's attitudes and concept of labor productivity are different. Thus, it is essential to ensure fairness and efficiency in handling the economic relationships and interests of the business units and laborers through the commodity-currency relationship. If the socialist economy is to expand in a planned manner, this must be based on commodity production. Thus, there must be excellent production and commodity circulation plans. Conversely, this economy can achieve the desired results only through planned commodity production and circulation. Production, commodity exchanges, and even commodity supply and demand must be planned. At the same time, the commodity-currency relationship must be respected when formulating, implementing, adjusting, and fulfilling the plans. Only by accelerating commodity production and circulation can the economy be socialized quickly and conditions created for planning to be



carried on more conveniently. Conversely, only by fulfilling the commodity production and circulation plans can the business units be stimulated to show greater ingenuity, supply greater quantities of commodities with better quality, supply a wider variety of goods, and reduce costs. This will enable commodity production and circulation to expand even more. In summary, the commodity-currency relationship is both the objective of the plans and the means to implement the plans.

In our country, during the initial stage of the transition from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, it is very important to determine the role and effect of commodity production and the commodity-currency relationship. This is a very urgent matter today, because for a long time now, the system of centralized management, bureaucratic centralism, and state subsidies has blocked the activities of the commodity-currency relationship and prevented it from manifesting an effect. In criticizing and eliminating this system, there have been a number of instances in which market relationships have been exaggerated and centralization has been slighted. However, the preconceived tendency with respect to the commodity-currency relationship is one of fear. There is a great fear of using this relationship in guiding the construction and expansion of the economy.

Everyone recognizes that during this period of transition, because there are still many economic elements, there are still three types of commodity production: small-scale, socialist, and capitalist commodity production. Each of these types of commodity production has its own economic laws. But at the same time, they exert an effect on each other to create a transitional commodity production. This is manifested by the fact that none of these types of commodity production is pure or untouched or has its original nature. To some degree, they have all been transformed through the influence of the other types of commodity production. But the general tendency is mobilization and expansion to form a pure socialist commodity production.

In our country, which is moving from small-scale production to socialism, the division of labor is still undeveloped and so production does not yet have all the characteristics of commodity production and circulation. The production situation is still poor, many of the positions and policies are not good, and in particular, the commodity-currency relationship has not been handled properly. As a result, small-scale production and the collective economy are still mired in self-sufficiency. The state economy has been guided by the system of centralized management, bureaucratic centralism, and state subsidies for a long time and so the commercial production units haven't functioned properly. Thus, it is essential to accelerate the expansion of commodity production in all the economic elements in our country. It must be recognized that even though the economic elements and their corresponding commodity production forms contradict one another, there is still unity and so there must be correct policies for using and improving these. Because of this, during a period of implementing new economic policies, Lenin stressed that "commodity exchange is the primary lever." (Footnote 2) (Lenin: "Collected Works," Vol 43, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, p 400) In particular, in an undeveloped agricultural country, great attention must be given to the small peasants and manual laborers. "They must be stimulated and



encouraged in accord with their economic base, that is, an individual economy with a small scale." (Footnote 3) (Lenin: "Collected Works," Vol 43, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, p 75) And "in particular, it is essential to implement commodity exchange policies in order to stimulate the peasants to expand the crop-growing area and improve agriculture." (Footnote 4) (Lenin: "Collected Works," Vol 43, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, p 400) At the same time, "local small industry must be promoted...and local state stores must be built for this economy." (Footnote 5) (Lenin: "Collected Works," Vol 43, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, p 421]

Regarding private capitalist economic elements, Lenin advocated "helping the small and medium-sized enterprises. In particular, those enterprises that do not have to be supplied raw materials, fuel, and grain by the state should be helped. Those in the private sector should be allowed...to rent state enterprises." (Footnote 6) (Lenin: "Collected Works," Vol 43, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, p 421) Lenin pointed out that "only when communists can use others to build the economy, they study, and the bourgeoisie follow the desired path will we be able to lead the economy." (Footnote 7) (Lenin: "Collected Works," Vol 45, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, p 117)

Since the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee issued its resolution, we have made changes to enable the economic elements to expand commodity production. We are experimenting with giving more independence in business to the state economic units. But based on the spirit of the resolution of the Sixth Party Congress, there must be a great change in the production orientation of a number of state enterprises that are experiencing difficulties, and production must be halted at a number of enterprises that are operating at a loss even though changes have been made. There must be a specific division of labor, and cooperation between the central and local industrial enterprises and between the small industry and handicrafts installations must be promoted. The privately owned capitalist economic installations and small production installations must be given guidance and encouraged to produce products that do not use or use very little state fuel, energy, and raw materials. Attention must be given to economic coordination and to signing and implementing economic contracts between the production installations and the localities. Along with stepping up the production of essential commodities, commodity circulation must be expanded. Free exchange will lead to an "expansion of capitalism." (Footnote 8) (Lenin: "Collected Works, Vol 43, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, p 267) But if exchange is prohibited, "this policy is foolish and will kill the party that implements such a policy." (Footnote 9) (Ibid.) The correct attitude is "to understand and match wits with this, to use its main lessons to beat it, and to use its own weapons against it." (Footnote 10) (Lenin: "Collected Works," Vol 43, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, pp 427, 428) Thus, the view of our party is that to stimulate production, reestablish order, and stabilize the markets, we must "implement a policy to expand commodity circulation and stop hindering things." (Footnote 11) (Sixth Congress Political Report, NHAN DAN, No 11849, 16 December 1986, p 4, column 6) It is advocated that the "state use effective measures to reform and eliminate merchant capitalists and punish speculators and smugglers." (Footnote 12) (Ibid.) Small merchants must

be used in the social commercial sphere. At the same time, socialist commerce must be expanded actively so that it takes control of the markets.

Stepping up commodity production and circulation in the nonsocialist economic elements will promote the utilization and reconstruction process. Together with the socialist economic elements, these elements should be guided in producing use values necessary for the process of expanded reproduction to support export and social consumer needs. With our present undeveloped production, we cannot produce high quality commodities without production costs being excessively high. But we can't accept bogus or "counterfeit" goods of low quality either.

This superiority requires that each business unit heighten the struggle concerning use value and the value of commodities. The labor expended must create the maximum product use value at the lowest cost possible. Today, because of the lack of balance between supply and demand, many high-price commodities of poor quality are being distributed. This does not stimulate the production installations to improve business. Because of this, the state must implement policies to ensure that the poor-quality products are not sold and to ensure that higher quality commodities are sold at higher prices. In order to have a suitable division of labor, each unit and element must be inspected to determine which types of goods will give the greatest return. In cases in which many enterprises of many elements are producing the same type of product, the state must implement a policy of giving priority to supplying raw materials and materials to the units producing the best quality goods at the lowest price.

Even though commodities have been produced, the basis for calculating things in order to carry on business operations is value. The use of the law of value in planned commodity production and circulation in the socialist system is of decisive importance for opposing and eliminating bureaucratic centralism, promoting production at the economic elements, and stabilizing the markets.

Previously, in building and expanding the socialist economy, we stressed the use of the system of socialist economic laws. It was only later on that we began giving attention to the law of value. Stated another way, we disregarded the law of value. Thus, the correct attitude in using the economic laws is to use the system of economic laws in socialism in an integrated way. The law of value, which is manifested in the form of prices, must be regarded as an important tool, or means, to fulfill the requirements or at the very least to ensure that the requirements of these laws are fulfilled well. Thus, prices are not just a manifestation of value but also a reflection of the requirements of socialist economic laws.

According to the law of value, production and commodity exchange must be in accord with the social labor time required to produce those commodities. Here, necessary social labor time does not refer just to the time expended for each commodity unit but to the total amount of labor needed to produce the entire amount of that type of commodity. In the capitalist system, this law is implemented through competition within each sector and between sectors to determine market value and production prices spontaneously. Value is measured by labor time, but it is still not possible to use labor to calculate this

directly. Previously, we had the simple notion that the law of value in socialism had a new meaning, that is, that the necessary social labor time was manifested by direct social labor and calculated in a self-conscious manner. But with the labor situation at different levels and with different labor attitudes and concepts, direct social labor cannot develop fully throughout society and is restricted to each enterprise and collective unit. Thus, only through exchanges can this be really recognized as social labor.

In the capitalist system value is manifested by production prices through spontaneous competition, but in the socialist system value is manifested by self-conscious "planned pricing." Normally, these prices are set based on the average production costs of the entire sector, which includes rational expenditures based on the economic and technical norms having a scientific basis. To this is added a profit margin, which depends on the priority given by society to this type of product.

Pricing is one of the most important problems in socialist society. It is an integrated expression of the economic and financial activities and of many major relationships in society. Prices are related to every economic activity and to the interests of each class and each person in society. Because of this, the state must use prices as a tool to manage the economy and to carry on planning and business accounting. The state must not only put forth price policies but build a unified system and directly evaluate specific goods in specific spheres based on rational forms such as price levels, price limits, and the price framework.

Regardless of the situation, the price policies must be aimed at expanding production and improving and stabilizing the socioeconomic situation. Prices must be set based on the following principles:

Prices are a tool. At the same time, they are the objective of the plans. It is essential to provide planned guidance in every task, from production to distribution and circulation.

Prices must be determined based on productivity, quality, and economic results and manifested by the effect of use value. They must be calculated very carefully.

The guided prices of the state must be kept relatively stable through the supply of materials and the socialist commercial system. Today, the price problem is attracting attention and studies are being done in the socialist countries to make improvements and perfect things. No country can claim that its methods of determining and implementing things are best. In our country, commodity production has not yet expanded. Many types of products are produced at only a few production installations and these have very different business standards and conditions. Determining the correct price is very difficult. Extensive research and testing must be done. Many people feel that today's rapid inflation is inevitable given the great imbalance in supply and demand. Stressing "fluctuating prices," a number of people feel that if we allow prices to rise to the "saturation" point, the price rise will come to a halt. Opposed to this objective movement is voluntarism. It's true that supply and demand have an effect on prices and that prices should not be fixed. But



supply and demand just have an effect; they do not determine prices. Fluctuating prices do not mean that prices must continue to rise or that the price of every type of commodity must rise. How great the imbalance is between supply and demand in our country today and how great an effect this has on prices as reflected at the markets are things that must be studied. But the above viewpoint is one of resignation and helplessness in the face of the spontaneous control of market relationships. This viewpoint will lead to looseness in guiding and controlling prices and a lack of zeal in looking for measures to stabilize prices or at least reduce the rate of inflation.

Actually, the inflation in our country today has not been caused just by the imbalance in supply and demand. This is due to the effect of many artificial factors. Because of this, attention must be given to examining matters in order to handle things properly. With respect to the factors that reduce supply, various things can be mentioned. For example, state commodities are damaged, wasted, and stolen during storage and transport, and enterprises hold back commodities, distribute them internally, and use them as gifts. As for the factors that increase demand, attention should be given to the following: a fear of a lack of goods, which results in people purchasing reserves; aping others and living extravagantly; speculation and hoarding; celebration parties; profiteering; the resale of items many times; and competition to buy and pressure to sell.

An important factor that is now pushing prices higher is that there is too much money in circulation. Commodity prices follow commodity value and move opposite to the value of money. Thus, if the money supply increases but commodities do not increase, prices will rise.

The very high expenditures for national defense and security, the useless expenditures on construction, and many other wasteful expenditures have resulted in a great increase in the money supply. The most worrisome thing is that the people's confidence in the dong has declined greatly. No one dares save money. Few people deposit money in savings accounts. When people have money, they rush out to buy things. They buy anything that can be stored away. Every household has a small storehouse to hold social commodities at a time when the currency continues to drift upward on the markets. Because of this, as prices rise, people rush to buy goods before prices rise even higher and the value of their money drops.

Thus, the state must implement active policies and measures to maintain the value of the dong and strengthen people's confidence in the dong. Everything possible must be done to mobilize cash for business and production and the budget, improve discipline concerning budget receipts and cash expenditures, strengthen payments by a transfer of accounts, and end inflation.

Another problem that affects inflation is that wages are too low. Wages are a factor in production costs. At the same time, wages ensure reproduction of the working strength. Today's wages are very low. They are sufficient to maintain the standard of living for approximately 7-10 days. If we want people to work enthusiastically, this is very unrealistic. Because wages are insufficient to maintain the minimum standard of living, the laborers and almost all the production installations have had to struggle hard to make ends meet. Because

of this, many negative phenomena have occurred. In the end, everything comes out of the pocket of the state, and public funds and state receipts are misused. The bad thing is that the materials and products skimmed off in order to increase incomes must pass through middlemen. And to ensure that people receive full wages, the amount of commodities sold must double. On one hand, the commodities that are skimmed off are included in the expenditures of the enterprises, and this increases prices. On the other hand, this helps private businessmen to speculate and hoard goods and push up prices. Some people feel that if wages are calculated correctly, production costs will skyrocket. This is something that must be considered carefully in order to reach the right conclusion.

Another unreasonable factor that is pushing up prices is the ill-gotten gains of a number of speculative traders who engage in illegal activities and of degraded cadres who assist the speculators. These ill-gotten gains are usually squandered on various luxuries and pleasures. The bad thing is that the money squandered by one person creates an illicit source of money for someone else and ultimately pushes up prices. In turn, higher prices encourage the "crooks" to approach influential people, seize public property, and steal from the people in order to maintain their level of "wastefulness." What is worrisome is that most of this illegal money comes from corruption and bribery, which has long been disguised as "presents." Naturally, each expenditure for presents is added on to production costs. Furthermore, giving "presents" reduces the efficiency of the control work. The procedures and policies are not implemented seriously, and sometimes they are even violated. This is also one of the factors that has resulted in shortages of state commodities and materials and caused people to ignore "stealing" or even participate in speculation and smuggling involving state property. In short, giving presents makes it impossible to determine actual production costs, and it increases costs to unreasonable levels and pushes up market prices rapidly. Thus, resolute action must be taken to eliminate this as quickly as possible.

Prices are by no means the only element that can be used to solve the economic problems. In making use of the commodity-currency relationship, price is not the only problem. However, prices are an integrated economic problem that affect almost every socioeconomic relationship. Furthermore, inflation is now a pressing problem. Every true worker is worried about this. Thus, steps must be taken to solve this problem.

I hope that these ideas will contribute to our methodology in order to help solve the problems concerning the commodity-currency relationship.

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**ON-THE-SPOT TRACTOR REPAIR SERVICES CRITICIZED****Responsible Department Criticized**

Hanoi LAO DONG in Vietnamese 7 May 87 p 3

[Article by Tien Chuoc]

[Excerpts] Fulfilling the mission of building and developing socialist agriculture, after peace was restored in 1954 our state imported from friendly countries in eastern Europe, especially the Soviet Union, tens of thousands of large tractors and a number of small tractors. The nation now has about 20,000 large tractors. The repair of tractors for agriculture had always been the responsibility of a system of major repair enterprises and small repair shops. That system extended from the central level down to the districts. But in 1984 the Technical Equipment General Department of the Ministry of Agriculture (the highest management organ of the agricultural mechanization sector) organized on-the-spot "tractor repair services" undertaken by mobile repair teams. That working method of the Technical Equipment General Department has given rise to many opinions on the part of the tractor repair workers, the agricultural mechanization management organs at the provincial and district levels, the scientific-technical cadres of agricultural sector, the materials supply cadres, etc.

After studying those opinions, we assembled them and have presented in this article the major contradictions in tractor "repair services."

A centralized bureaucratic form with special rights and benefits:

The Technical Equipment General Department is a state functional organ that is responsible to the Ministry of Agriculture and the state with regard to the management of agricultural machinery and equipment. The General Department is also authorized to control and distribute parts and materials to serve agricultural machinery nationwide. In order to provide technical services for the agricultural machinery services, during the past several decades there has taken form a repair machinery network under the management of the Technical Equipment General Department which consists of dozens of factories

to carry out major repairs and more than 100 workshops to carry out minor repairs. Thousands of workers and cadres work in those installations. The state has invested millions of dong to equip the material-technical bases of that network. Those repair shops have not yet fully utilized their capacities, so should more so-called tractor repair services be organized?

A matter worthy of attention is that the Ministry of Agriculture gave the "green light" to the Technical Equipment General Department in Directive No 61/NN/VP, dated 20 February 1986, which stated that it should "Supply parts directly only to the repair services to ensure that the parts are used on the machinery." In guiding the implementation of that directive by the localities, the Technical Equipment General Department stated in Official Letter 94/SCCV (19 March 1986) that they should "Only supply parts directly to repair services."

In the spirit of the above document of the Technical Equipment General Department, every year the state imports millions of rubles worth of materials and parts to repair tractors which are not distributed to the localities according to plan, as in the past, but are supplied directly to the supply services of the General Department. Even in that regard it is possible to pose a number of questions. The function of the Technical Equipment General Department is to be concerned with the activities of nearly 20,000 large tractors and about 20,000 small tractors in 45 provinces and municipalities, by means of its existing repair network. That concern is limited to some mobile repair units in a number of provinces. How about the other provinces? And is it still necessary to retain the workshops to carry out major overhauls and repair of tractors extending from the central level down to the local level, at a time when "repair services" have replaced them "legally," and when they have been cut off from a steady supply of parts? If they continue to exist, what will they do, how will they make a living, and what will their material-technical bases be used for? To be fair, after many years of construction and work, the workers and technical cadres of those repair installations have matured and have much practical experience in order to undertake the restoration and repair of tractors, if they are given attention with regard to the supplying of special parts.

After 2 or 3 years of carrying out "repair services," the Technical Equipment General Department has "restored" several hundred thousand tractors for a number of provinces. The General Department believes that that is a "dynamic, creative" organizational form that is close to the local level, etc. But few people are aware that most of the remaining tractors are being "left in critical condition" because they are not supplied spare parts, are repaired in a patchwork manner, and frequently break down. According to the agricultural machinery repair enterprise of Chan Giang District (Hai Hung), during the past 2 years it has only been supplied sufficient parts to carry out minor repairs on 5 or 6 tractors of the enterprise's total of 66 tractors. In 1985 the Ministry of Agriculture assigned Kien Giang the norm of carrying out carrying out minor repairs on 116 tractors, but it received only 10 percent of the spare parts that were required and could only carry out miscellaneous repairs. In 1986 its norm was to carry out minor repairs on 140 tractors, but by April 1986 it had received no spare parts.

Meanwhile, the General Department did not work through the equipment and spare parts corporation, but signed a contract directly with the foreign trade sector so that it could reserve for itself orders of valuable and scarce goods only to carry out services.

In the Mekong Delta there is only one factory, in Hau Giang, to carry out the major overhauling of tractors. It is capable of repairing only 250 tractors but every year the neighboring provinces request it to repair thousands of tractors, which the enterprise is not able to do. Meanwhile, the capability and capacity of the minor repair shops are not fully utilized.

With regard to the Technical Equipment General Department having monopolies on "services" and the distribution of spare parts, the editorial board of the newspaper LAO DONG requests the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry to let our readers know what group or individual served as the Ministry's "adviser" vis-a-vis the contents and spirit of Directive 01.

#### Comment

At first hearing, and superficially, one thinks that the tractor "repair services" of the Technical Equipment General Department are something new and have real effectiveness. The General Department believes that that is a form that is "appropriate to directive 30 of the Party Central Committee." But when one examines that form and sees that it is only a form of "economic alliance which brings about limited benefits" for the General Department and some of the participating units.

With regard to state technical services, Directive 50/CT-TU stated that "We must perfect the state technical service organizations from the central level down to the basic level in accordance with the principle of building a strong and complete sector network, and tie in the sector with localities to form a unified system. We must carry out specific division of labor and decentralization, and first of all must concentrate on perfecting and improving the quality of the state technical service installations in the districts." When examined in that spirit, it is evident that the existing tractor repair network has always carried out "technical services" with regard to agricultural machinery at the regional and district levels, so why did the Technical Equipment General Department deprive that network of that function? In its management capacity, the Technical Equipment General Department should strengthen its management, and make technical investments in that network to form a strong specialized sector, but it has replaced that network in order to fulfill commercial missions that are completely contrary to its function. Many local installations request the state and Ministry of Agriculture to examine that working method of the Technical Equipment General Department, and request financial auditing of the "services" which the Technical Equipment General Department has carried out during the past several years.

**Reply From Ministry of Agriculture**

Hanoi LAO DONG in Vietnamese 11 Jun 87 p 2

[Article by Nguyen Van Hoi]

[Text] Issue No 19 of the newspaper LAO DONG printed the article "The True Nature of the So-Called Tractor Repair Services," and in issue No 22, on 28 May 1987, it published opinions of readers on that article.

The LAO DONG articles accurately reflected the events that have occurred in the "tractor repair services" by the Technical Equipment General Department of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry.

The Minister of Agriculture and Food Industry has instructed the Ministry's inspectorate to investigate that matter. The inspectorate is urgently implementing that directive by the Minister and is gradually reaching conclusions. The Ministry will fully inform the editorial board and readers.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry congratulates and thanks the editorial board.

On behalf of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry  
Nguyen Van Hoi

Deputy Director of the Inspectorate

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CSO: 4209/517



## CIVIL RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THOT NOT DISTRICT DISCUSSED

Hanoi DAI DOAN KET in Vietnamese 15 May 87 p 14

[Article by Phuong Ha: "Many Village and Hamlet Cadres in Thot Not Have Seriously Violated the Ownership Rights of the People; the Hamlet Has Become an Administrative 'Echelon' with Great Powers; To Have Democracy in the Rural Areas, the Decisive Elements Are the Village and Hamlet Cadres"]

[Text] An Event That Took Place in Phuc Loi Hamlet in Trung Nhat Village

Mr Hai was awakened suddenly by the sound of footsteps in the garden. His first thought was that it was a thief. But he rejected that idea, because since the end of the war more than 10 years ago, there has never been a robbery in his area. When he heard the call of the hamlet security chief, he was not afraid. Instead, he felt disgusted. He was surrounded by 10 hamlet guerrillas commanded by the deputy chairman of the people's committee, who also served as the hamlet security chief. As he was being marched off, he realized that this was an act of revenge. Because during a meeting of the production collective the previous week, he had told the collective that the deputy chairman of the hamlet people's committee had abused his powers to obtain state fields, transfer some of his plots to others, and obtain nitrate fertilizer and gasoline belonging to the collective to sell it on the black market. On many occasions, he had made false reports about the number of people who had gone to live elsewhere in order to reduce the amount of paddy owed the state. At the headquarters of the hamlet people's committee, he was charged with "slandering a cadre with the aim of opposing the revolutionary regime." He was beaten and jailed for a week. Fortunately, people found out about this and reported this to higher echelons. He was then released.

An Event That Took Place in Quy Thach 1 Hamlet in Trung Nhat Village

The chairman of the hamlet people's committee got drunk. As he staggered along the road on his way home, he saw a farmer working along the edge of a field. He shouted to him:

"Are you afraid of me?"

"Yes."

"Good."

He then took out his pistol, put it next to the farmer's ear, and fired a round. To this day, that farmer is still deaf in that ear.

The chairman of the hamlet people's committee then put the pistol in the pocket of his jacket, slung the jacket over his shoulder, and continued on his way home. He then met a girl wearing a gold necklace. He said to her:

"Why do you dress so indecently?"

The girl refused to put up with this and replied:

"You are the one who is indecent."

"Look at the way you are flaunting that necklace."

He then grabbed the girl's gold necklace and threw it in the ditch.

#### An Event That Took Place in Tan Lap Dong Village

The secretary of the village party chapter had a family but still carried on an affair with another woman. To authorize them to go to Saigon on pleasure trips, the village chairman issued a real marriage certificate to the two. And so by chance, the mistress of the village secretary became his official wife. His first wife filed a complaint. But this was to no avail, because she did not have a certificate of marriage. (In rural areas, in the past, a couple could marry with the consent of the two families. The marriage was not recorded by the authorities.)

Meanwhile, the head of the village public security forces urged his mother to demand bribes from the families that owned sugar mills and that had sons of draft age.

#### An Event That Took Place in Quy Long Hamlet in Thanh Quoi Village

An unmarried woman had four children by four different men. She was very poor and lived in a hut covered with rotten coconut palm fronds. She did not even have a rice jar. At a meeting to criticize hamlet cadres, she said that "Mr Tu Vuon (the Huynh Huu Dau Hamlet public security chief) came and forced me to pay 400 dong for 4 cong [1 cong equals 1,000 sq m] of farmland. I implored him to make an exception in my case, but he refused. I had to sell my children's clothes, which were very tattered. I got 200 dong for the clothes. I also had to sell some of my clothes, but I still didn't have enough. Without my plot of land, I and my children can't survive."

She started crying and said that "Mr Tu Vuon is a 'cadre.' What hardships does he have that require him to demand such bribes?"

Tu Vuon stood up embarrassed. His face was gray like a person who has been hit by the wind after drinking. He explained that "I did not try to bribe her. Hamlet regulations stipulate that everyone of work age must engage in water conservancy work for 1 week. If they don't, they must pay 400 dong so that the

hamlet can hire someone else to do the work. If they don't do the work or pay the money, they can't be allocated farmland. I was only carrying out my duty. I didn't know that she would have to sell her clothes."

Since liberation, the revolutionary regime has made many changes in the rural areas. We are very proud of these achievements. But on the other hand, I could tell you dozens of other "stories" similar to those above. These stories concern oppression of the people by village and hamlet cadres, bribery, drinking, leud activities, the holding back of fertilizer and insecticides meant for collective members, the accumulation of debts by collectives, the illegal use of fields and so on in the 14 villages, which includes almost 100 hamlets and 900 production collectives, in Thot Not District, Hau Giang Province.

While working with Mr Tran Van Tu, the new secretary of the Thot Not District CPV Committee, I waited impatiently for a chance to ask him the following question: The village, hamlet, and collective cadres in the rural areas of Thot Not have committed serious violations against democracy. Why haven't the District CPV Committee and the District People's Committee taken steps to put a stop to this?

I don't want to place all the blame for this on the district secretary and chairman who retired just prior to and after the the recent district party organization congress. I have been a member of the Standing Committee of the Provincial CPV Committee for many years and so I, too, must bear some of the responsibility. The reason why party cadres and authorities in the rural areas have made mistakes is that in recent years, we have ignored party building at the primary level. Only after a directive was issued to launch a criticism and self-criticism campaign in preparation for the various-echelon party congresses did we affirm that the hamlet is an essential echelon. Our districts' hamlets have become an "administrative echelon" with great powers. The policies that have been violated the most are the policies on fields, agricultural materials, and the personal freedoms of the people.

The district secretary advised me to go to the primary level to learn the truth for myself in the villages, hamlets, and production collectives and then return and talk with him again. In the villages and hamlets, the farmers told me many sad stories about the things that they have had to endure at the hands of the cadres during the past 10 years. There are two main problems for which I have tried to find an explanation: the powers of the hamlet people's committee and the disorder of the cadres when adjusting the fields.

The hamlet people's committee is not an administrative echelon, but hamlet cadres carry out all the tasks given by the village. The hamlet people's committee has little responsibility for providing guidance on work methods. The hamlet people's committee is not elected by the people as is the village people's council. Rather, it is appointed by the village. In almost all the rural areas of Thot Not, whenever something involves the authorities, the people run to the hamlet people's committee. This has been a rule ever since the French and Americans and their lackeys occupied the country. The majority of those appointed to the hamlet people's committees are appointed at the subjective whim of a number of people on the village chapter committee and

village committee. And because they do not know very much about the functions and powers of the hamlet people's committee, they control the hamlets just like the hamlet leaders under the old regime. That is, they think that they have the right to arrest and beat people, distribute and expropriate land, and hold back chemical fertilizer, insecticide, and gasoline that the state has sent to the farmers in exchange for agricultural products. The events that took place in Phuc Loi and Quy Thanh hamlets in Trung Nhat Village and in Quy Long Hamlet in Thanh Quoi Village that I reported above are just a few of the many cases that have occurred in almost all the villages and hamlets in Thot Not District. Here, I would like to relate another event that took place after the Phung Thanh Hamlet People's Committee in Thanh An Village had to engage in self-criticism before the people. At the meeting, a peasant woman said that every time the deputy hamlet leader went to the district to get nitrate fertilizer, he sold some of it to merchants to obtain money to buy liquor. She mentioned the exact times and places that he had done this. He had to admit his mistake and promised to reform. Several days later, she went into a shop to buy some tobacco for her husband and saw this man sitting there drunk. Seeing her, he began cursing her in order to intimidate her. She said, "Several people expressed criticisms to get you to see your shortcomings and reform. But now you are threatening and abusing me again. You are again acting improperly." Hearing this, the deputy hamlet leader hit the woman. After hitting her, he told her that as the deputy village leader, he had the right to beat people.

Just as in other rural areas where there is little land but many people, the land in Thot Not is very valuable. There are 300,000 people in Thot Not. Prior to liberation, half of the farmers did not own any land. The land was owned by landlords, the bourgeoisie, and puppet generals. Those who lived in Can Tho and Saigon sent their underlings to Thot Not to hire people to work their fields. After 30 April 1975, the revolutionary regime seized these fields and divided them among landless families. At the same time, it carried on a reform of the arable farm land among the peasants. The first division and reform of the fields was irrational. Cooperatives and production collectives were established and so many people lost interest in the fields. Directive 100 on product contracts for groups and laborers corrected these hasty work methods, and the land had to be divided and reformed once again. Making use of their great powers, many village, hamlet, and collective cadres reserved the best fields for themselves and their families and friends. A number of these cadres lost their positions and retired, but no one could touch their land. The new cadres also wanted land just like the old cadres. Using various methods, they "reformed" things to their advantage and to the advantage of their relatives and friends. Disputes over arable land arose. The Thot Not District CPV Committee and Thot Not People's Committee made many inspections and continued to rearrange the fields during the process of reorganizing production. But to date, the situation has still not been completely stabilized.

As promised, after I had met with people in a number of villages, the secretary of the district CPV committee received me again and talked with me about the rural area problems that concerned us. He said that the District Party Organization Congress had elected 39 people to the new party committee. Of these, 17 had served during the previous term. The average age of the people in the new party committee is below 40, which is much lower than that



of the people on the previous party committee. Returning to the main topic, that is, solving the negative problems among the village, hamlet, and production collective cadres, the secretary of the district CPV committee read me some welcome figures: 90 hamlet cadres and 305 collective cadres have lost their positions. They have been replaced by good people elected by the people. The village echelon has prosecuted a number of cadres, including some who are party members, who committed violations and has expelled people in serious cases. People will be elected to the People's Council this April. The money, paddy, and gasoline that the village, hamlet, and collective cadres appropriated as a collective "loan" have been converted into debts. These cadres must repay almost 300,000 dong, almost 100 tons of paddy, and almost 10,000 liters of gasoline. Almost 200 hectares of arable land that was occupied illegally have been reallocated.

The secretary of the district CPV committee concluded by saying that:

"The violations that we have discovered in the rural areas are very serious. What is most serious is that such things have reduced the people's confidence in the leading party. By organizing things to have the people criticize the cadres, by engaging in public self-criticism, and by correcting the mistakes, we are gradually regaining the trust of the people.

"I hope that the next time that you visit Thot Not, the opening paragraphs of the article will be about happy events that have taken place in Trung What, Tan Lap Dong, Thanh Quoi, and the other villages and hamlets in the district.

"Your article will be very long." The secretary bid me a warm farewell and smiled confidently.

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## FORMER COURT OFFICIAL PROTESTS UNJUST TREATMENT

Hanoi LAO DONG in Vietnamese 25 Jun 87 p 3

[Article: "'Letter from Thanh Hoa': 'Contradictions Follow Court Case; Meritorious Individuals Become Criminals; Suspicious Signs Exist in Disciplinary Cases'"; title provided by the editor's office]

[Text] Dear LAO DONG,

I, trade union member Vu Ba Vien, former Deputy Procurator of the Thanh Hoa People's Organ of Control, wish to present the newspaper some grievances of mine and others in the inspection group--that inspected and uncovered several serious violations of the law in the Thanh Hoa Consolidated Business Corporation, the director of which was Dang Dinh Tam.

The Thanh Hoa People's Court, in a first trial on 30 and 31 March 1987, sentenced Dang Dinh Tam to 7 years in prison. Tam's cohorts were sentenced in subsequent trials. The results of the prosecution and sentencing affirmed that the previous investigation and discovery by our public inspection group were properly conducted.

However, after initiating actions to apprehend Tam (19 June 1986), members of the 14th Inspection Group (following an appeal from the people of Thanh Hoa and the newspaper TUAN TIN TUC) were all reviewed, cornered and charged with very serious shortcomings aimed at severely punishing them!

--Le Nam, Inspection Group Chief, was dismissed as deputy party chapter secretary, was demoted from middle to junior level inspector, and was transferred to another bureau.

--Bui The Hue, junior inspector, received a party and professional reprimand.

--Trinh Xuan Thuong was purged from the party and transferred down to the Bin Son City People's Organ of Control.

--Mai Ngoc Luong and Nguyen Xuan Hoang were also reviewed and transferred down to the district.

These men were the most active elements of the public inspection bureau, a unit that for 13 consecutive years earned the socialist labor team title and the only bureau unit in the inspection sector of the entire country to be awarded the Labor Order Third Class by the state (at the end of 1985). Besides that, a number of cadres in the consolidated business corporation who meritoriously informed and assisted the inspection team in uncovering the crimes of Tam also received severe party and professional disciplinary action.

Especially, Pham Quoc The, Deputy Chief Justice of the Provincial People's Court, who resolutely supervised Tam's prosecution precisely in keeping with the circumstances of the case, only 3 days after the trial ended received a decision for his retirement with the reason that he was a few months past the age of 60!

I, as the individual assigned to directly lead the public inspection group, discovered the crimes of Tam. During a period of nearly the past year, I have been reviewed six times, and four times Ha Trong Hoa, Secretary of the Provincial Party Committee, has openly criticized me in conferences of the provincial party committee (despite the fact that no echelon has ever reached a conclusion on the shortcomings for which he is criticizing me). With these charges, the Standing Committee of the Thanh Hoa Provincial Party Committee decided to purge me from the party and submitted a suggestion to the Chief Procurator of the Supreme People's Organ of Control to dismiss me from my post as Deputy Procurator. One of the three primary shortcomings alleged by the Standing Committee of the Provincial Party Committee to discipline me was that I, "with bad intentions, supplied a number of untruths to the newspaper TUAN TIN TUC to publish the article, "Highway Robbery in Broad Daylight ."

The truth is entirely contrary to the charges of a number of individuals in the Standing Committee of the Provincial Party Committee. Within the scope of a letter, I cannot present everything. Nevertheless, I still hold the evidence and legal documents proving that I and my comrades in the public inspection bureau have been unreasonably accused.

Regrettably, Tran Le, Chief Procurator of the Supreme People's Organ of Control, with a lack of objectivity, signed the decision dismissing me from my post as Deputy Procurator of the Provincial People's Organ of Control and transferring me from the inspection sector. I wish to note that prior to that, I met directly with Tran Le. He patted my shoulder and told me, "Rest easy, nothing is going to happen." However, immediately after a vacation trip to Sam Son, Tran Le signed the decision disciplining me(?).

Dear Comrades!

For nearly the past year, we have suffered maltreatment from the attitude of the Thanh Hoa party committee echelon. We cannot help but ask questions, "Why do criminals such as Tam and those who abet and cover up for them such as Le Ba Do, Chief of the Provincial Marketing Federation, have so many people running about to play down their crimes? Why are those who struggled to resist negativism and protect the truth such as the inspection group and those who assisted the group in finding the truth being cornered, attacked and

mercilessly prosecuted? Who is the instigator of these serious consequences?

I must sorrowfully reveal that a number of key leaders in the Thanh Hoa Provincial Party Committee themselves directly transformed merit into crime to strip away the political life of me and other party member cadres who would not act in accordance with their designs.

The lives and reputations of those holding power at the Thanh Hoa party committee level have pushed me into a dead-end. Many times I have thought, "Should I remain silent and resigned to the perversity above, or should I straightforwardly speak to the party and to conscience and reason?"

The intellect of a communist and the feeling of a trade union member have guided me in having complete and firm confidence in the fair examination and decision of the party. In respect for the truth and social fairness, we hope that party and state agencies, union organizations and press and information agencies will promptly illuminate this extremely unreasonable incident.

Thanh Hoa, 10 June 1987  
Vu Ba Vien

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CSO: 4209/552



## GREATER PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY DEMANDED

Hanoi QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 27 Jun 87 pp 1, 4

[Article by Viet An: "Personal Responsibility"]

[Text] For a long period of time, the personal responsibility system has not been fully emphasized. Not a few cases have occurred in which shortcomings and mistakes have been blamed on objective reasons, the collective or other agencies while proceedings against the man in charge and the one bearing primary responsibility for the mistake or shortcoming are usually ignored. Much is said about our shortcomings but as to who we are, there is no specific address. The countless difficulties and hardships the laborer must bear are usually explained by objective reasons such as shortages of rice, fuel, water and other minimum necessities for life with no recognition of who is responsible at all. Primarily because of that, no prompt, resolute and effective corrections are made.

In socioeconomic management, there is a series of factors with an organic relationship and mutual influence in effecting the final result. However, it must be admitted that if an objective analysis is made, relying on clear regulations and stipulations and a scientific and practical basis, the responsibility of each individual can be defined. For example, it is not due to the after effects of the feudal and colonial regimes that the factories and enterprises of the country are only using part of their capacity; the protracted war did not cause the present indiscriminate destruction and exploitation of forests; the country's continuing difficulties and hardships are not absolutely causing basic units to suffer losses in capital, to fail in fully nurturing each other, etc. It is increasingly not due to poor management standards of cadres and workers that has led to a situation of exploiting state loopholes to engage in business, to seek price difference profits for the gain of an individual or group in business, or the open violation of technical regulations, indiscriminate and careless work in production, etc. These situations all have a subjective cause, first of all the personal responsibility of the command or management cadre.

Recently, the handling of losses of responsibility by echelons or individuals with direct or indirect responsibility has generally speaking been praised by public opinion. However, these cases have also raised questions from the public about why this echelon or individual was correctly disciplined but

another related echelon or individual or those responsible for that echelon or individual were not mentioned. Public opinion has also posed the problem of the still many other cases of poor, or no, responsibility that have resulted in losses of socialist property but have still not been dealt with. Actually, our renovation process is presently developing but the widespread ailment of mutual dependence between echelons with everyone able to issue resolutions but no one bearing responsibility for the consequences of those resolutions; and individuals acting in accordance with their own wishes while the collective shoulders the consequences has still not been ended.

The personal responsibility system is a basic principle of socialist economic management. The process of economic management renovation is demanding wholehearted and strict implementation of a personal responsibility system in all sectors and local areas from the basic unit to other echelons precisely in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism. To achieve this, it is necessary to closely connect responsibility with benefits and the discipline of organization with the conscientious spirit of each individual to form an effective management formula. The mission, power and responsibility of each cadre, worker and civil servant at whatever level or sector must be clearly defined with standards and norms stipulated as to labor quantity and quality in conjunction with other requirements in order to effectively evaluate the activities of each individual and sector in immediate or long-term benefit or harm to both the collective and the overall sector, local area and state.

To ensure achievement of the personal responsibility system, it is necessary to strengthen and improve working methods of the management system and the structure of management apparatuses while simultaneously deploying individuals with corresponding character and ability, bolstering standards and creating conditions for forging ethical quality and high responsibility in the process of mission achievement. Detachments and individuals must be able to define a coordinated and specific relationship with the responsibility of each echelon and individual in accordance with a clear mission responsibility and strict achievement.

In the final analysis, the personal responsibility system is difficult to implement if in the stipulations of the party committee echelon, local administration and management agency, there is no just and fair definition and achievement of a system of both material and spiritual reward and punishment that is closely connected with the responsibility set forth; in conjunction with inspecting, blocking, discovering and promptly dealing with violations of those stipulations. Only in this manner is it possible to achieve that which is desired by public opinion: that every echelon and individual with direct or indirect responsibility that, due to a lack of responsibility, causes great or small immediate or long-term losses, be promptly and justly dealt with, and that these become "tasks to be accomplished immediately" for echelons, sectors and local areas throughout the entire country.

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## PHA LAI PLANT YOUTH UNION ANSWERS CHARGES

Hanoi TIEN PHONG in Vietnamese 30 Jun-6 Jul 87 pp 2, 3

[Article by Le Duc Chan, Secretary of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, Pha Lai Thermoelectric Plant: "Young People of Pha Lai Thermoelectric Plant Resolutely Strive to End Negative Occurrences"]

[Text] After reading the article "Jobs That Must Be Done Immediately" by Comrade N.V.L. in the 20 June 1987 issue of NHAN DAN about the serious occurrences of theft at the Pha Lai Thermoelectric Plant, the Standing Committee of the plant Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union met to review the responsibility of the union organization and to accept the opinions presented in the article above.

Theft of material, equipment and coal, dismantling and theft of protective pipe sleeves, and especially theft of spare contact points from low voltage electric starters have occurred. Even more dangerous is that counterfeit points have been made to replace the originals. Of the 22 individuals apprehended, nearly all have been youth union members serving as operators at the plant. When this matter was discovered, the plant youth union joined the local government, trade union and public security forces of the Pha Lai area to round up the offenders. The standing committee of the plant youth union met, decided to expel those union members participating in the incidents above and simultaneously held a meeting of the executive committee to gain experience from the deficiencies and to set forth union work guidance in teaching a concept of protecting socialist property at the plant.

We also seriously acknowledge the deficiencies in union member education illustrated by the following factors:

1. The plant is new. During the past few years, students rushed in from the schools, youth union member education was still weak and a number of young people were attracted and taken advantage of by bad elements; forms and methods of education were only aimed at a form of general appeal that was ineffective and inflexible so results were limited.
2. Because construction of the plant worker area was not yet finished, the force of workers and civil servants in general and of youth union members in particular was scattered throughout many areas, management of the youth union

members was lax, especially after their 8 hours of work, and there were no methods for stopping or assisting the deficient members.

3. Because there were no active methods in education of the youth union member force in full-time protection, these youth union members themselves participated in theft or in protecting the thieves.

Although the activities of the union on the "protection of order and security" front attained a number of results, they were not regularly maintained or synchronized, and periods of weak activity were loopholes for the bad elements to operate. Faced with this situation, the plant youth union conducted a phase of union activity to review and clearly recognize the responsibility of the union organization with each youth union member assisting to protect socialist property. The standing committee of the plant youth union actively coordinated with concerned bureaus and sections, recruited good union members for protection work, and assigned elements of insufficient reliability to labor. The activities of the inspection youth teams and security assault youth units were maintained and further elevated.

Also through this, the union standing committee submitted a number of suggestions to concerned agencies as follows:

1. Swiftly complete construction of the worker and civil servant housing area, especially for the plant's young labor force. Only by doing this will there be good management of the youth union members after their 8 hours of work.

2. Besides those charged for stealing electrical contact points, we suggest that the plant severely deal with other negative occurrences with model cases prosecuted immediately and promptly at the work site to uphold the law and discipline. This will have a good educational effect on the youth union members and create a wave of public opinion strongly condemning social negativisms.

Through the article of Comrade N.V.L., we increasingly recognize the responsibility of the plant youth union. We young people of the Pha Lai Thermoelectric Plant are resolutely striving to advance toward ending the negative occurrences, and to purify the ranks of youth union members and youths throughout the plant.

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